

# YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL



VOLUME 69

1997



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2017 with funding from  
Yorkshire Archaeological & Historical Society

<https://archive.org/details/YAJ0691997>

THE  
YORKSHIRE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
JOURNAL

A REVIEW  
OF HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES AND TOPOGRAPHY IN THE COUNTY  
PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNCIL  
OF THE  
YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY R.M. BUTLER

VOLUME 69

FOR THE YEAR

1997

ISSN 0084-4276

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY  
IMRIES PRINTERIES – LEEDS

# THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Founded  
1863

Claremont, 23 Clarendon Road  
LEEDS, LS2 9NZ  
Telephone 245 7910

Incorporated  
1893

## Patrons

The ARCHBISHOP OF YORK  
The EARL OF SCARBOROUGH, D.L., M.A.  
The LORD COGGAN, P.C., M.A., D.D.

Sir MARCUS WORSLEY, Bart, F.S.A.  
H. FATTORINI, ESQ., B.A.  
C.F. YOUNG ESQ., C.B.E., J.P., LL.D.

## Officers and Council 1997

### President

L.A.S. BUTLER, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

### Honorary Vice-Presidents

G.C.F. FORSTER, B.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

J. TAYLOR, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

R.M. BUTLER, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

### Vice-Presidents

M.W. BERESFORD, M.A., Hon.D.Lit., F.B.A.  
P.B. DAVIDSON, M.A.

Mrs H.E.J. Le PATOUREL, B.A., F.S.A.  
D.H.T. BROOKE, B.Comm.

### Council

ALEXANDER, Mrs. A.E., B.A. (*Leeds*)  
ARUNDEL, Mrs. D.E. (*Pontefract*)  
BEAUMONT, H., Ph.D.  
BREARS, P.C.D., F.S.A. (*Leeds*)  
CHERRY, P.  
COOPER, N.M. (*Leeds*)  
HABBERJAM, Mrs. M., B.A. (*Leeds*)  
HOUGHTON-EVANS, W. Ph.D., F.R.I.B.A. (*Leeds*)  
JOHNSTON, Miss E. (*Leeds*)

KING, A., B.Sc., M.A., (*Settle*)  
MOORHOUSE, S., B.A., F.S.A., M.I.F.A. (*Bradford*)  
MORTON, Mrs. M. (*Leeds*)  
PAYNE Mrs. D., (*Leeds*)  
PICKLES, Mrs. M.F. (*Ilkley*)  
ROBERTS, I.  
SLATCHER, W.N., M.A., M.Sc. Ph.D. (*Wakefield*)  
TELFORD, J. (*Leeds*)  
WAIGHT, E.C. (*Harrogate*)

WRATHMELL, S., B.A., Ph.D. (*Carleton-in-Craven*)

All of the following are members of Council *ex officio*

**Honorary Secretary:** Miss. M.J. HERON, B.A., 176 Pomona Street, Sheffield S11 8JL.

**Honorary Treasurer:** W. BENTLEY, F.C.A., A.T.I.L., 'Roydfield', 24 Micklefield Lane, Rawdon, Leeds LS19 6AZ.

**Hon. Membership Secretary:** Miss D. ROBERTS, Little Oak, 87 St. Catherine's Road, Harrogate HG2 8LA.

**Hon. Publicity Officer:** Mrs. F. MATTHEWS, 7 Hanover Square, Leeds LS3 1AP.

**Honorary Editor:** R.M. BUTLER, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., 32 Green Lane, Acomb, York YO2 3DL.

**Honorary Librarian:** G.S. DARLOW, M.A., A.L.A., The Handsel, Bridge Street, Boroughbridge, YO5 9LA.

**Hon. Secretary, Historic Buildings:** A. M. RUTHERFORD, 18 Stanhope Avenue, Leeds LS18 5AR.

**Hon. Lectures Secretary:** Mrs. A. ALEXANDER, M.A., 14 Moor Park Mount, Leeds LS6 4BU.

**Hon. Grants Secretary:** B.E. VYNER, Ph.D., 69 Hartburn Village, Stockton-on-Tees TS18 5DY.

**Librarian:** Miss S. LEADBEATER, B.A.

**Archivist:** Mrs. S. THOMAS, M.A.

### Hon. Secretaries of Sections

*Record Series* – Mrs. S. THOMAS, M.A., Claremont, 23 Clarendon Road, LS2 9NZ.

*Parish Register Section* – C.S. PRESTON, B.Sc., M.A., Longwood, The Parklands, Scruton, Northallerton, DL7 0QT.

*Wakefield Court Rolls Section* – K. EMSLEY, M.A., LL.M., 34 Nab Wood Drive, Shipley, BD18 4EL.

*Prehistory Research Section* – T.G. MANBY, M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A., 43 Meadow Drive, Market Weighton, York YO4 3QG.

*Roman Antiquities Section* – P.R. WILSON, B.A., M.I.F.A., Stables Cottage, 331 Havant Road Farlington, Portsmouth, PO6 1DD.

*Medieval Section* – Dr. B.A. WASSELL, Ph.D., 513 Meanwood Road, Leeds LS6 4AW.

*Local History Section* – J. GOODCHILD, 12 Shakespeare Avenue, Normanton, West Yorkshire.

*Industrial History Section* – Mrs. M. TYLEE, 1 Ivy Cottages, Well Hill, Green Moor, Sheffield, S30 7DP.

*Family History and Population studies Section* – J. RAYNER, 24 Wynmore Avenue, Bramhope, Leeds LS16 9DE.

*Aerial Reconnaissance* – J.A. POCOCK, Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, Bradford University, Bradford BD7 1DP.

### Representatives of Groups and Affiliated Societies

*Forest of Galtres Society* – Mrs. V. TAYLOR      *Victorian Society* – Mrs. D. PAYNE

*Pontefract and District Archaeological Society* – Mrs. D.E. ARUNDEL

*Huddersfield and District Archaeological Society* – W.E. CROSLAND, B.Ch., L.D.S.

*Olicana Historical Society* – Mrs. K. MASON

*Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society* – Mrs. J. KANER

*Doncaster Group* – Mr. A. O'CONNOR      *Harrogate Group* – Miss D. ROBERTS

*East Riding Archaeological Research Trust* – T. G. MANBY, M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A.

*Wesley Historical Society, Yorkshire Branch* – Mrs. R. STRONG

*Upper Wharfedale Field Society* – H. BEAUMONT, Ph.D.

*East Riding Archaeological Society* – B. SITCH



CONTENTS OF VOLUME 69

	<i>page</i>
PULE BENTS: A Possible Kill site in the Central Pennines ..... P. B. STONEHOUSE	1
A STONE AXE-HAMMER, ROBIN HOOD'S PENNY STONE AND STONE CIRCLE AT WAINSTALLS, WARLEY NEAR HALIFAX, WEST YORKSHIRE ..... RAYMOND A. VARLEY	9
THE KNAPTON GENERATING STATION AND GAS PIPELINE EXCAVATIONS ..... J. LEE with contributions from J. DORE and J.P. HUNTLEY. Illustrations by ROGER SIMPSON	21
RECENT ROMANO-BRITISH METAL DETECTOR FINDS IN THE SHEFFIELD AND ROTHERHAM MUSEUM COLLECTIONS AND RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN SOUTH YORKSHIRE ..... MARTIN J. DEARNE and JULIEN PARSONS	39
ANGLO-SAXON SUNDIALS IN RYEDALE ..... JOHN WALL	93
EXCAVATIONS IN DEANERY GARDENS AND LOW ST AGNESGATE, RIPON, NORTH YORKSHIRE ..... MARK WHYMAN with specialist contributions from AILSA MAINMAN, PATRICK OTTAWAY, NICOLA ROGERS and SANDRA GARSIDE-NEVILLE	119
YORK AS A TIDAL PORT ..... COLIN BRIDEN	165
THE PRIVY COUNCIL AND 'VAGARANT RUNAGATE' PRIESTS IN ELIZABETHAN YORK ..... PHILLIP V. THOMAS	173
THOMAS BROWNE, WILLIAM WRIGHT AND THE SLINGSBY MONUMENTS AT KNARESBOROUGH ..... ADAM WHITE	193
DEWSBURY INCLOSURE 1796 - 1806 ..... JOHN F. BROADBENT	209
A NOTE ON THE FONT FIGURE IN ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, ASTON, SOUTH YORKSHIRE (SK 4685) ..... FRANK BOTTOMLEY	227
BOOK REVIEWS .....	230

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME 69

**Dr. F. Bottomley** was Vice-Principal of Trinity and All Saints College, Horsforth, (1966 -82). Now retired he does occasional lecturing and writing, e.g. *Church Explorer's Guide*, reprinted 1995.

**Colin Briden** is an historic buildings consultant and small boat enthusiast, based in York.

**John Broadbent** took up the study of Dewsbury local history after retiring from a firm of accountants in Leeds. He is now studying the records of the Rectory Manor of Dewsbury and has made a translation of the court rolls from 1607 to 1730.

**Martin Dearne** was until recently Research Associate in the Department of Archaeology and Prehistory at the University of Sheffield. He has excavated and researched extensively into the Roman Peak District and east midlands, as well as into Roman lead mining, coal use and cave utilisation. He is currently preparing the publication of Roman cave sites.

**Jenny Lee** is a graduate of Sheffield University and is a field monument warden for English Heritage. She has directed excavations on several sites for Northern Archaeological Associates since 1992.

**Julien Parsons** is Keeper of Archaeology and Ethnography at the City Museum, Sheffield. Although not Yorkshire born, he feels that he has been adopted by the country after studying in York and Bradford and working in Sheffield. He has published articles on various archaeological finds, but is currently more immersed in studying the motives behind antiquarian collecting.

**Pat Stonehouse** is an amateur archaeologist with a keen interest in the Mesolithic who has carried out a number of excavations in the Central Pennines.

**Phillip Thomas** graduated with a Master's degree in History at the University of Adelaide in 1995. His thesis was 'Vagrancy in Elizabethan England and the response of the Privy Council; with reference to Five Towns'. He has worked as a research and administration officer and secretary in various University of Adelaide departments. He is currently creating an annotated bibliography for the South Australian town of Gawler and is studying for the Graduate Diploma in Information Studies. His interests include tennis, cricket, military history and *Doctor Who*.

**Raymond A. Varley** was keeper of Archaeology in the Scarborough Museum of Archaeology from 1969 to 1971. He has been a lecturer in Archaeology at Silpakorn University, Bangkok, Thailand. He specializes in the study of Bronze Age Artifacts found in Yorkshire on which he has published and been a contributor to the *Y.A.J.* since 1969

**John Wall** is a retired clergyman, formerly head of the Department of Religious Studies at New College, Durham. He has an M.A. in Classics and a Ph.D. in Medieval History on the Military-Monastic Orders in Britain.

**Adam White** studied the History of Art at the Courtauld Institute and in 1992 obtained his Ph.d. there with a thesis on *Church Monuments in Britain c.1550-c.1660*. Since 1983 he has worked for the Leeds Museums and Galleries and is currently Curator at Lotherton Hall, near Aberford.

**Mark Whyman** has worked as a Field Officer for York Archaeological Trust since 1985. He is researching for a Ph.D. on the late Roman/early Anglian transition in Yorkshire at the Department of Archaeology in the University of York, but has temporarily suspended registration since whilst involved in the English Heritage funded research project *Towns and their Hinterlands*, based in that department.

## PULE BENTS

### A Possible Kill Site in the Central Pennines

by P. B. Stonehouse

The site was discovered by Dr. R. Jacobi in June, 1983, when he found 16 “rod” microliths along the line of a sheep track on the moor known as Pule Bents near Pule Hill, Marsden. (see Fig. 1). Subsequent excavation showed that the site was centred on gr S.E. 03761060 at an altitude of 1200 feet O.D. (366 metres). Excavation started June 16th 1983 when a grid in square metres was established. The excavation was carried out by trowelling by Dr. Jacobi and a team of students from Lancaster University, aided by volunteers from Saddleworth Historical Society.

The site lies on a gentle dip slope with an extensive outlook towards Marsden and the Colne Valley to the north east but the view to the west and the south is curtailed by rising ground. Geologically the underlying rocks belong to the Millstone Grit series of the Carboniferous Period which produces a markedly acid soil, destructive of bone. The peat cover was less than 10cms in depth and both it and the 5cms of soil had suffered erosion. Large numbers of flat angular stones were found in the soil and together with some larger stones which needed levering before they could be moved.

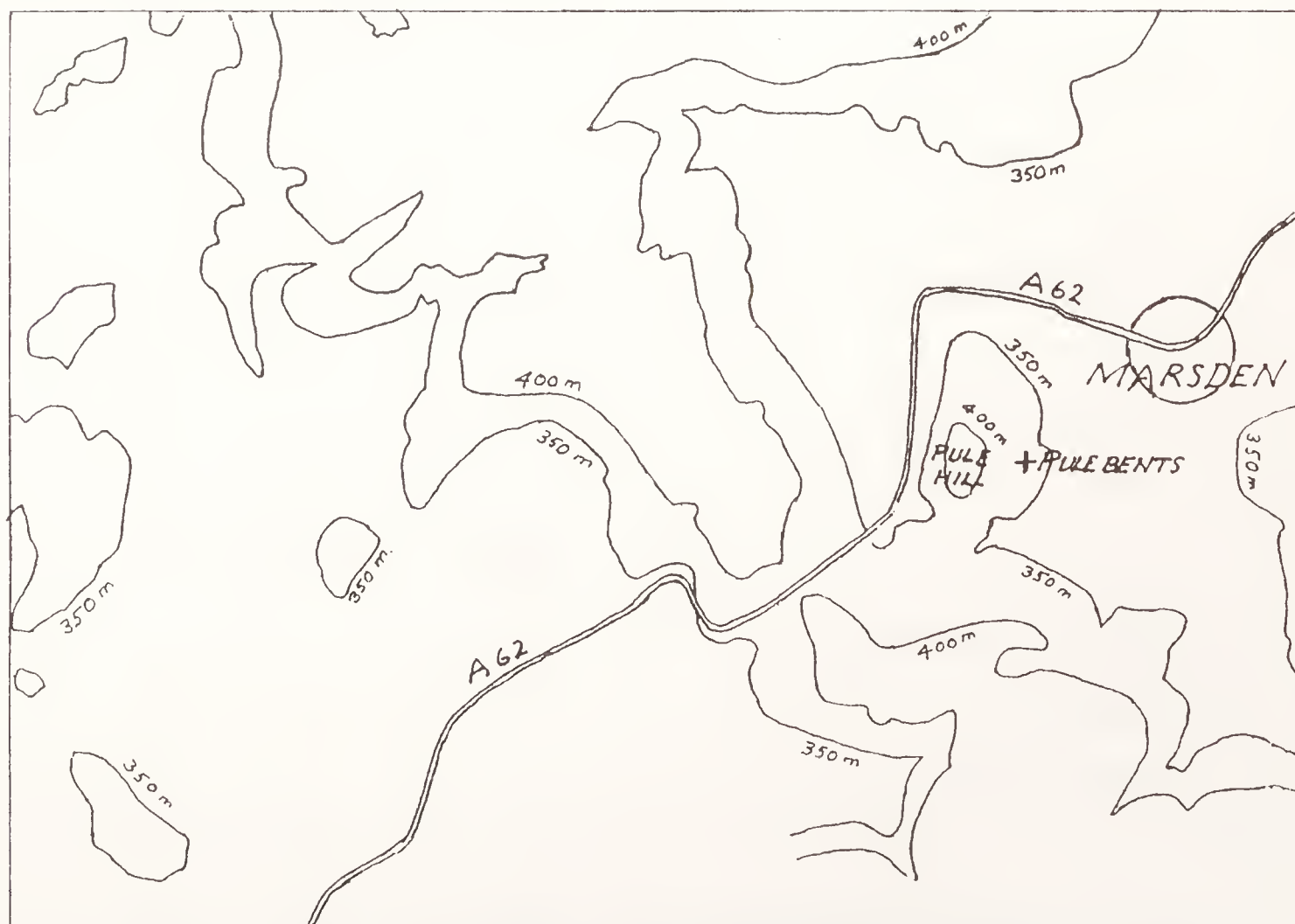


Fig. 1. The Marsden area, showing location of site.



The site is an unusual one, producing 93 microlith and microlith fragments but only ten unworked pieces. (Table I). Nine of these are of the same size, shape and material as the “rod” like microliths which constitute the most numerous type of microlith in the assembly. The tenth piece without secondary working is an unshapely lump of black chert. There is a complete absence of the debris which is associated with flint knapping.

The plan of the site (Fig. 2) is also uncommon. Instead of showing the artifacts gathered into an oval or circle with a sharp outer edge, there is a marked concentration in the south eastern part of G7, near the southern edge of the site, with a somewhat vague scatter to the north and north west and a trail of mainly surface finds extending for a distance of 10 metres along a sheep track to the north east which is down slope.

Eleven conjoins were identified by Stephen Poole from 22 artifacts, their relationship being shown in Fig. 3. Ten of these proved to be “rod” microliths, the remaining one being unworked. In two cases the distance between the conjoining pieces was 3.5 metres or more and in both of these the linkage pattern lay at right angles to the slope.

*The Industry.*

This is dominated by “rod” forms, but also includes small scalene triangles, a point, an obliquely blunted point, and a number of small worked pieces, classified here as “microlith fragments. (Table I and Fig. 4).

*“Rod” forms.*

TABLE I.

	Flint	Chert	Total
WORKED ARTIFACTS			
Rods, worked on one side	55	9	64
Rods, worked on both sides	4	2	6
Scalene triangles	3	4	7
Points	0	1	1
Microlith fragments	13	1	14
Obliquely Blunted Point	1	0	1
	76	17	93
PIECES NOT WORKED			
Fragments	9	0	9
Lump of chert	0	1	1
	9	1	10
TOTAL, worked and unworked	85	18	103



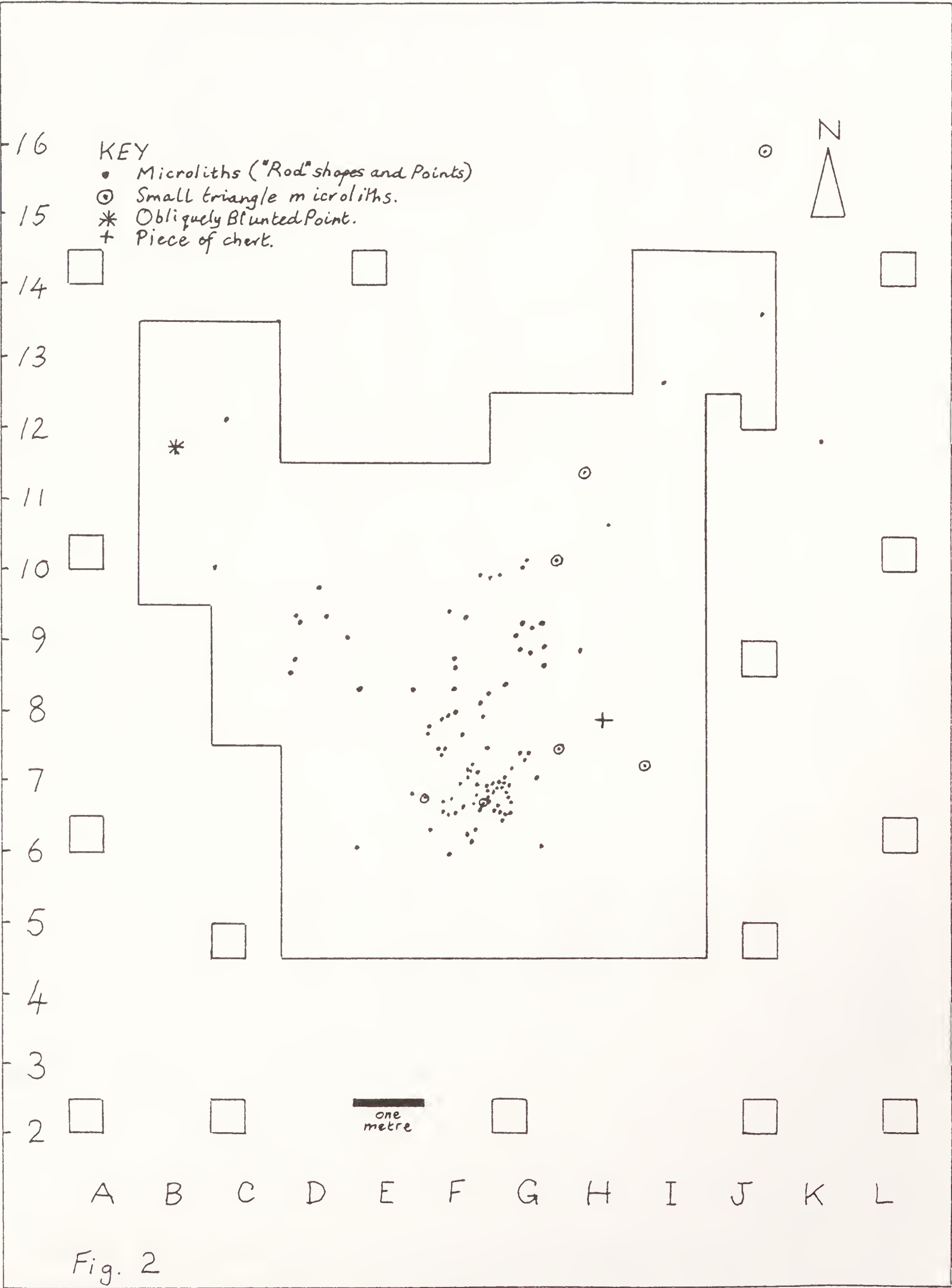


Fig. 2. Pule Bents: site plan.

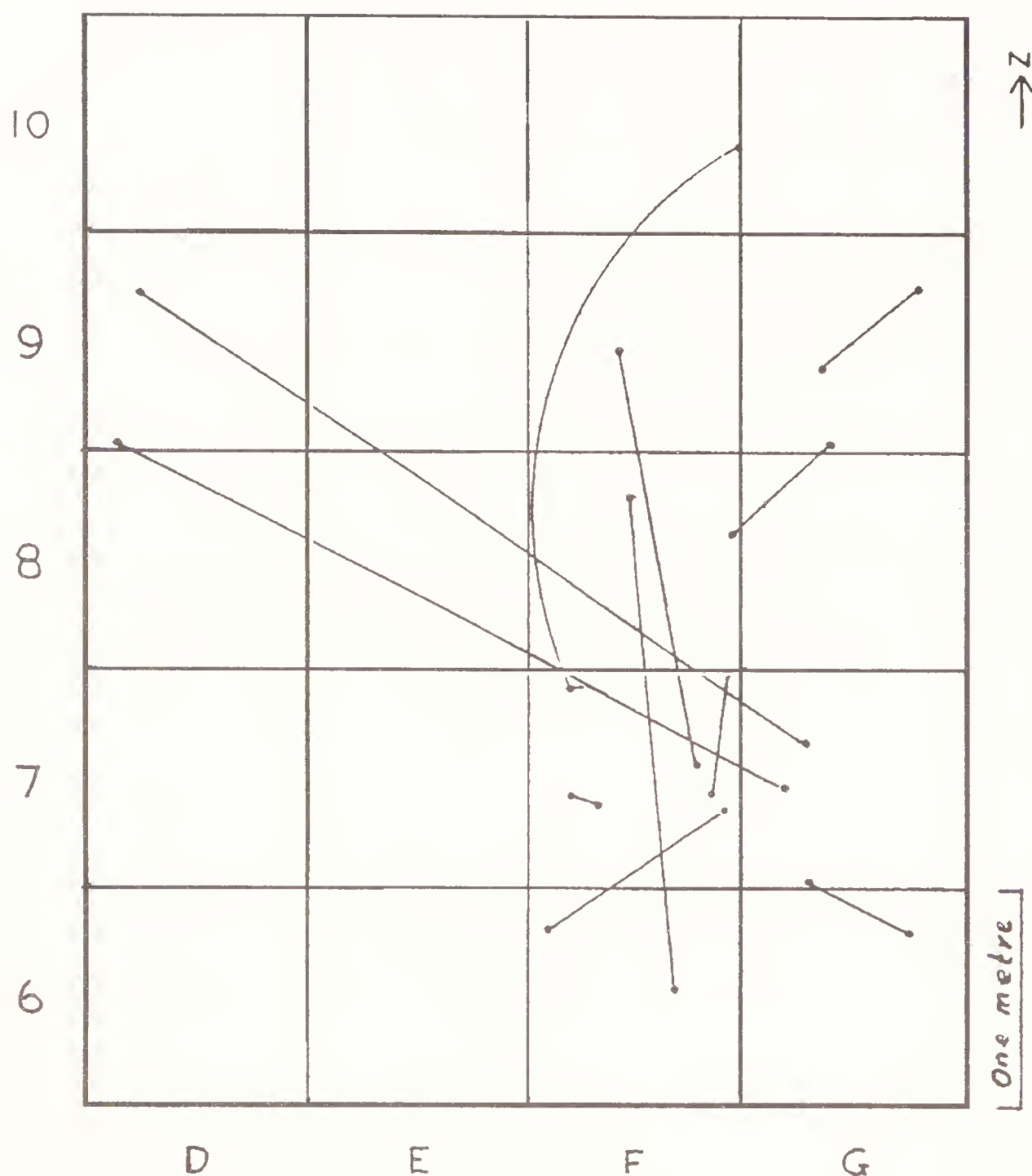


Fig. 3. Pule Bents: plan showing conjoins.

These comprise the great majority of the microliths and are often incomplete, thin and fragile. Examples in Fig. 4 include 1 to 10, and 37 which are conjoins. There are large numbers of segments of "rods" snapped across at both ends. Two rods, 35 and 36, made of good quality almost glass like flint, were blunted on one side by delicate retouch from both the dorsal and ventral face. One of these (35), which was complete, showed an impact fracture. Most of the "rods" were worked on one side only, the others on both sides in the ratio of 64 to 6.

Nearly all the "rod forms" were made of a translucent brown flint, varying in colour from a very light fawn, almost colourless in two examples (Fig. 4 - 35, 36) to a moderately deep brown. The eleven made of chert included 3 grey, 4 white, 2 black and 2 brown pieces, the brown being of a curious chocolate-like colour.

#### *Scalene Triangles*

Seven microliths were classified (Table I) as small scalene triangles, six of which are illustrated in Fig. 4 - 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34. Three of these, 27, 30 and 31, are more or less complete, and 33, although incomplete, is almost certainly a triangle. The others (32, 34) are less certain. It would have been possible to prolong the

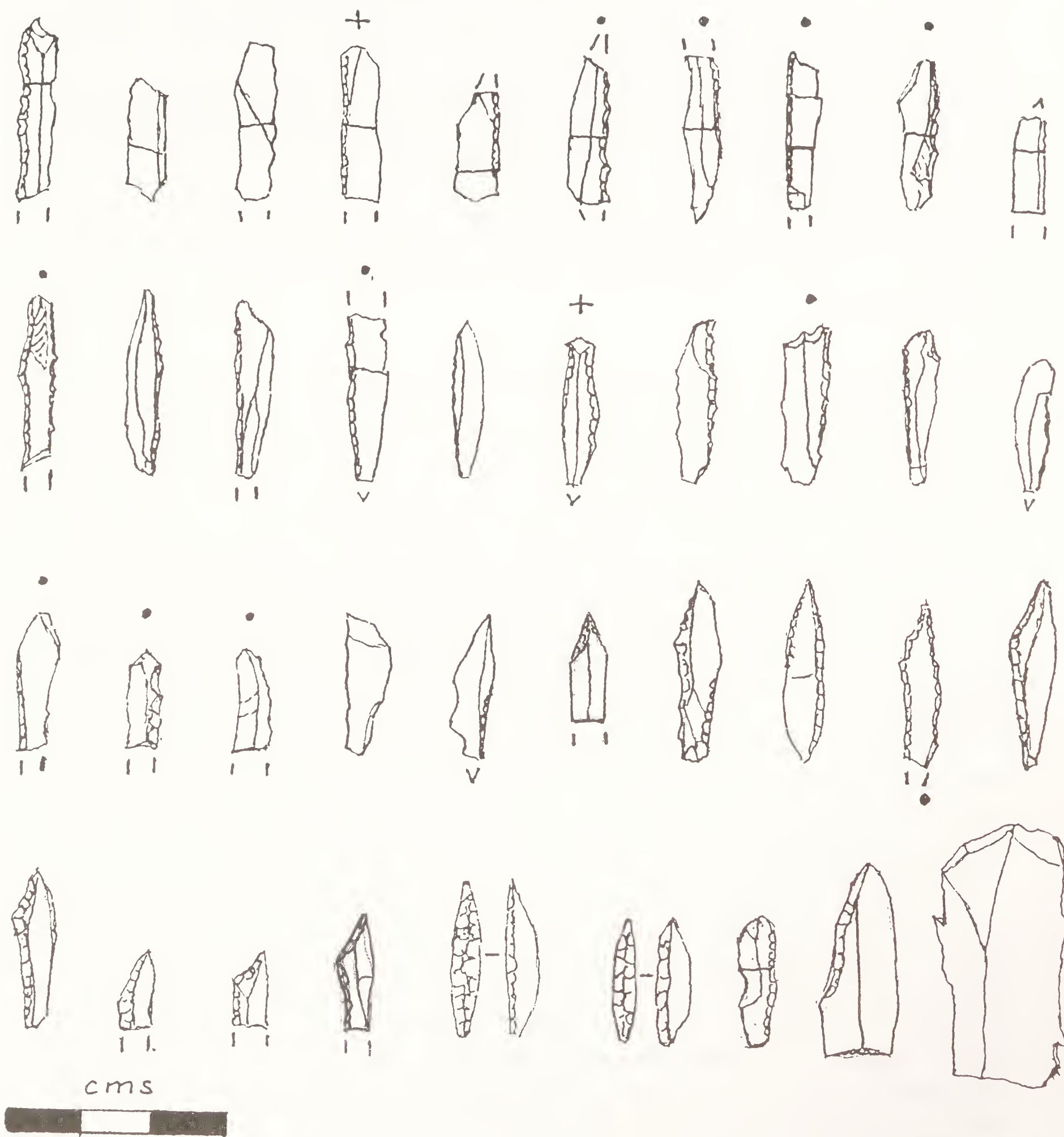


Fig. 4. The flint industry.

list, the decision as to whether to classify a given microlith as an elongated but broken triangle or a "rod" with an oblique end being somewhat subjective.

In the majority of cases the shortest side subtended an acute angle with the longest side (Fig. 4 - 27, 29, 30, 31, 34) but two had a much broader angle (32, 33). The shortest side was concave in 30, 31 and 33. Five were made of chert, (2 black, 1 grey and 2 chocolate brown), the other two of brown translucent flint.



The point, (Fig. 4 - 26, made out of grey chert is relatively broad compared to the “rods” and is worked for about 6mm along one side of the blade, and has some opposed retouch on the opposite side, resulting in a point which lies roughly along the centre of the axis of the blade.

The Obliquely Blunted Point (Fig.4 - 38) is made of white flint, is without opposed retouch but seems typical of the Deepcar type of industry of the Early Mesolithic and thus would appear to be an interloper in an industry otherwise characteristic of the Later Mesolithic.

The “Microlith Fragments” are pieces with secondary working but so small that their classification is uncertain. The lump of black/grey chert (Fig. 4 - 39) is difficult to classify, having neither the characteristics of a core or of a core trimming flake.

### *Discussion.*

As already mentioned, the site is unusual in having 93 microliths or microlith fragments out of a total of 103 artifacts; in having an unusual artifact distribution, and in the absence of debris typical of flint knapping. This was not a site where the manufacture and repair of implements was being carried out.

A possible explanation is that this was a “kill site, where large game had been ambushed, perhaps on more than one occasion, and it is interesting to note that this is an area where the Pennines are remarkably narrow with only half a mile of land over 1200 feet between Saddleworth on the western side and Marsden on the eastern. This fact may have helped to channel migrating herds moving east - west, or north - south.

It seems probable that “rods” may have been used as projectile points. At Lydstep Haven, Pembrokeshire, a pair of broken rod microliths were found in close association with the neck vertebrae of a pig and sealed beneath fallen tree trunk and peat. (Jacobi, R.M. 1980) and it is also worth noting that one of the “rods” from Pule Bents (Fig. 4 - 35) showed evidence of an impact fracture.

The killing of large animals may involve shooting them with considerable numbers of arrowshafts as shown by the 15 points found near the Prejlerup auroch (Aaris -Sørensen. 1984) and the six barbed and tanged arrowheads of Bronze Age date found inbedded in the carcass of an auroch buried in a pit at Holloway Lane, Harmondsworth, Greater London (Cotton. 1984). The absence of knives suggest that butchery did not take place on the spot - perhaps the carcass was moved to an adjacent area for dismemberment, as described by Lewis Binford in his account of the activities of the caribou hunters of Alaska (Binford, L.R. 1983).

An alternative explanation is that this was a cache and it is interesting to note the concentration of microliths in G7. Similar concentrations have been found on other local sites - for example Buckley noted 80 backed bladelets in one square yard at Warcock Hill North, Site 4, situated 1 kilometre to the S.W. of Pule Bents (Buckley, Notebooks) and 21 rods out of a total of 61 artifacts came from one square metre at Middle Clough (SO 9913 1270), a site in Dean Clough, near Denshaw (Lee Cherry, personal communication) but both these sites were typical occupation sites with plentiful debris.

There is the possibility that most of these microliths were not used for hunting



purposes but were part of a composite tool for processing roots or vegetables (Clarke, D. - 1978) but many of these fragile rods appear particularly unsuitable for this purpose. The presence of an Early Mesolithic Obliquely Blunted Point and six micro scalene triangles seems to show that this was a favourite hunting area over a long period of time and a lead pellet excavated from D9 shows that hunting has taken place here in much more recent times. It is perhaps worth noting that there was a considerable variation in the typology of the “rods”, some thin and fragile, others sturdy; some pointed (e.g. Fig.4 - 35), others without a sharp point (e.g. Fig. 4 - 4, 16), others rather blunt, so that it was difficult to believe that they were all designed for the same purpose.

#### *Acknowledgements*

I would like to thank Dr. R. Jacobi, who found the site and carried out the excavation with a team from Lancaster University for his advice and guidance, and also Stephen Poole for his work conjoining the artifacts.

#### *Bibliography.*

- Aaris - Sørensen. *Uroksen fra Prejlerup* Ed. 1984 Copenhagen Zoologisk Mus.  
 Binford, L.R. 1983 *In Pursuit of the Past*. Thames & Hudson.  
 Buckley, F. Buckley Note Books in the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield.  
 Clarke, D. *Mesolithic Europe: The Economic Basis*. 1978. Duckworth.  
 Cotton, J. Prehistory in Greater London. *Current Arch.* No. 124. Vol. XI. No. 1. May 1991, p.153  
 Jacobi, R.M. The Early Holocene Settlement of Wales, in “*Culture and Environment in Prehistoric Wales*”. Ed. by J.A. Taylor. BAR. British Series 76. 1980. p. 175.



## A STONE AXE-HAMMER, ROBIN HOOD'S PENNY STONE AND STONE CIRCLE AT WAINSTALLS, WARLEY NEAR HALIFAX, WEST YORKSHIRE

by Raymond A. Varley

A stone axe-hammer found at Robin Hood's Penny Stone, Wainstalls, Warley near Halifax, and considered lost, has recently been located in the archaeological collection from Bankfield. Museum, Halifax. The stone axe-hammer now forms part of the prehistoric, archaeological collection of Calderdale housed at the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield.

There is however, very little known about the circumstances of its discovery or subsequent history. The first published reference for this stone axe-hammer appears in Ling Roth's *The Yorkshire Coiners* 1906 where it is illustrated and recorded as a 'Hammerhead found at Robin Hood's Penny Stone, Warley, in 1872.<sup>1</sup> Bankfield Museum's early accession register<sup>2</sup> confirms Ling Roth's caption for the axe, but relates to Robin Hood's Penny Stone as a druidical remain and verifies the find date of 1872. (AH-15).

### *The Site Location and Geographical Situation*

Robin Hood's Penny Stone (*site of*) (Fig. 1:A) is situated 6.7 km north-west of Halifax (N.G.R. SE 04642874) at an altitude of 320 metres O.D. It lies on the Millstone Grit Series of the central southern Pennines which extends southwards down to the Peak District of Derbyshire<sup>3</sup> and forms a tableland with a high western escarpment and a long eastward slope, generally above 500 metres contour, the level summits are covered with blanket peat bog. The Calder valley which is wide and deep, formed by the river Calder, with its tributaries, generally runs eastwards, dissecting the upland. The site is situated in a field which was used in 1951 for dumping soil and clay from foundation trenches for an extension of Wainstalls Mills to the south. The area of dumping was mainly confined to the south side of the field (Fig. 1:B) leaving the area to the north and the site relatively untouched. This dumping has left the field in a very uneven state: it is composed of rough grassland with reeds and thick tufty grass and it is also water-logged in various places. A number of boulders and broken up stones are laying scattered about in the field.

The site (Fig. 1B) is situated near to a north facing stone wall, alongside which is a footpath. The surrounding fields have been cultivated and are now used for pasture. The north-east field wall separates a disused stone quarry from the site

- 
1. Roth, H. L., *The Yorkshire Coiners and notes on Old and Prehistoric Halifax* (1906), p. 302, Fig. 211.
  2. I would like to thank Mr. Michael Hall, Registrar of the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, for checking the early accession register for me.
  3. Edwards, W., and Trotters, F. M., *British Regional Geology - The Pennines and Adjacent Areas* (1954), pp. 32-34, Fig. 13.



where most of the boulders and broken up stones originally came from, which also appear in the next field to the north, and which is of rough pasture. To the north-west a stream runs into a weir of Wainstalls disused worsted spinning mills and there are wells and springs in the area.

The position of Robin Hood's Penny Stone commands views over the surrounding country to the north, north-west over Warley Moor and south-west The countryside hereabouts has revealed prehistoric remains of stone and flint implements, bronze axes and pottery<sup>4</sup> the majority of which have been recovered during quarrying operations or as surface finds. In addition to these finds there are enclosures to the north-east and a notable feature is the ring work at Cock Hill (Fig. 1:A) on Midgley Moor<sup>5</sup> to the south-west.

## ROBIN HOOD'S PENNY STONE

### *The Fable of Robin Hood's Penny Stone*

In Calderdale there were two Robin Hood's Penny Stones near Halifax, the one at Wainstalls (Fig. 1:A) of which only the site is known (SE 04642874) and the other on Midgley Moor (SE 01832845). Robin Hood is reputed to have stood close to the Standing Stone near Sowerby and thrown a great stone which landed at Wainstalls on the other side of the Calder Valley. This was known as Robin Hood's Penny Stone until it was destroyed. The Rev. John Watson, an eighteenth century antiquarian writer, recounts that 'I saw what is generally called Robin Hood's Penny-stone, for the country people here attribute everything of the marvellous kind to Robin Hood . . . Thus, for instance, he is said to have used this stone to pitch with at a mark for amusement; and to have thrown the standing stone in Sowerby off an adjoining hill with a spade as he was digging . . .<sup>6</sup> However, Watson also relates 'that some of the common people will smile when they relate these stories; they are not quite so credulous now as their grandfathers were.'

### *Historical Background*

The definition of 'penny-stone' in this particular case is defined as a flat circular stone. Robin Hood's Penny Stone was *in situ* at the time of Watson's visit prior to 1775 and he records the stone, which is also illustrated in his book<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 2) 'of several tones weight, laid upon a massy piece of rock, with a large pebble of a different colour between them, which is wedged so fast that it is very plain it was put there by human art or strength. I could not learn whether this would ever rock or not (meeting with but one person to converse with), but if it did, probably it was poised on this pebble, and might sometime or other have been thrown off its centre.'<sup>8</sup> The situation of Robin Hood's Penny stone first appeared on the first

4. Varley, R. A., Bronze Axe from Calderdale, *Y.A.J.* 49 (1977), pp. 51-58, Fig. 5.

5. Wilkinson, T., Local Prehistoric Man, *Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc.* (1903), No page numbers, and Roth *op cit.* in note 1, p. 306.

6. Watson, J., *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax* (1775), P. 27.

7. *Ibid.*, facing p. 19, Plate III, No. 6, the scetch indicates that it was engraved in 1761 by Williams Dolin and perhaps illustrates Watson with his measuring rod.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.



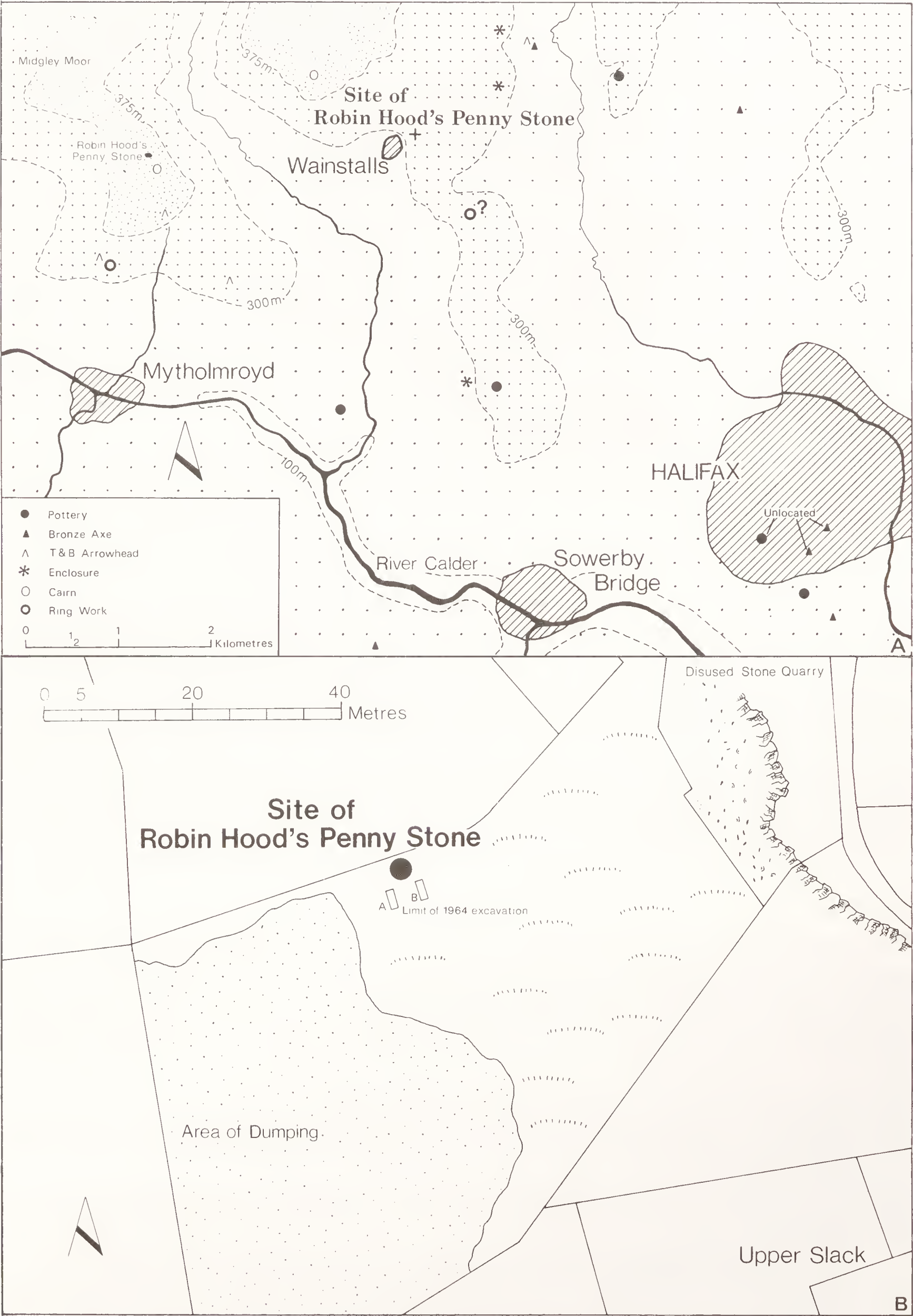


Fig. 1. Robin Hood's Penny Stone (site of), location map with distribution of Bronze Age finds in the area and site plan.

edition of the O.S. Map of 1852 which was surveyed between 1847-1849.<sup>9</sup>

In the early eighteenth century, this rock (Fig. 2) was generally called Robin Hood's Penny-stone because of the fable told by the local country people, which has become local folklore. As Robin Hood was a legendary figure living in this part of northern England perhaps in the 14th century,<sup>10</sup> so it is not surprising that a number of amazing things have been attributed to his name and many famous and traditional stories have grown up around him.<sup>11</sup> Several of the Robin Hood place-names seem to have originated after 1800, and the great majority of the others are first recorded in maps of the late eighteenth century. The most likely conclusion is that the custom of assigning Robin Hood's name to unusual and bizarre natural features was at its height in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which case the geographical concentration of these names in Yorkshire testifies to the way in which the legend retained its strong local associations for many years.<sup>12</sup> The grave of Robin Hood is reputed to be at Kirklees in the ground of Kirklees Priory,<sup>13</sup> to the south-east on the eastern bank of the river Calder.

The rock itself was most probably a weathered outcrop of Millstone Grit, carved into the shape of a flat circular large stone by the wind and rain, so because of its shape became known as a penny-stone. Robin Hood's name has been associated with the rock by the local country people, so it became known as Robin Hood's Penny-stone.

Because the hard gritstone and shales were often laid down in alternating bands, the wind and rain have carved many of these outcrops into strange shapes, some of which have been given names and become enmeshed in pagan symbolism and local folklore. Cow and Calf Rocks, near Ilkley,<sup>14</sup> Catstones, Bridestones at Todmorden<sup>15</sup> and High Stones are all good examples of the effect of the elements on these Pennine rocks. Elsewhere, the additional effect of the removal of surface soil and alternating freezing and thawing has left huge rocking stones such as Pots and Pans at Greenfield and the Druid's Altar at Bingley<sup>16</sup> which is a prominent crag of gritstone facing the Aire valley.

### THE STONE CIRCLE

The first reference to a stone circle at Robin Hood's Penny-stone, Wainstalls, Warley was reported by Crabtree in 1836. According to him, Robin Hood's Penny Stone was an altar and believed to have been surrounded by a stone circle,<sup>17</sup> which was apparently broken up a few years prior to 1836 and used for building purposes:

- 
9. Ordnance Survey 6 ins. to 1 mile (1:10560) sheet 215 1852 ed.
  10. Walker, J. W., Robin Hood Identified, *Y.A.J.* 36 (1944), pp. 4-46. and Holt, J. C., *Robin Hood* (1982), pp. 83-108.
  11. Ryan, D. S., *The Lost Journal of Robin Hood-Outlaw* (1989), pp. 1-187.
  12. Dobson, R. B., and Taylor, J., *Rymes of Robyn Hood, An Introduction to the English Outlaw* (1976), pp. 294-295.
  13. Crump, W. B., The Stone of Robin Hood's Grave, *Y.A.J.* 37 (1948), pp. 105-106. and Green, B., *The Outlaw Robin Hood: His Yorkshire Legend* (1991), pp. 42-44, Map 3, Plates 1 and 15.
  14. Stubblefield, C. J., and Dunham, K. C., *Geology of the Country between Bradford and Skipton* (1953), p. 42.
  15. Boswell, G., *On the Tops around Todmorden* (1986), pp. 71-75, Plate 14.
  16. Stubblefield and Dunham *op cit.* in note 14, p.6
  17. Crabtree, J., *History of Halifax* (1836), p. 28.





Fig. 2. Robin Hood's Penny Stone (after Watson 1775).

nothing now survives. Bankfield museum's early accession register relates to Robin Hood's Penny Stone as a druidical remain when recording a stone axe-hammer (Fig. 3) found at the site in 1872. However, Watson in 1775 does not refer to a stone circle in his account of Robin Hood's Penny Stone,<sup>18</sup> so presumably if such a circle existed surrounding the Stone, it must have been destroyed before his visit to the area c. 1775.

This alleged stone circle at Wainstalls was probably broken up in the early eighteenth century during the reclamation of land for agriculture. the land would have been broken up with hack and graving spades and all stone removed to construct the enclosing field walls.<sup>19</sup>

#### *Archaeological Investigations of the Stone Circle*

The site (SE 04642874) was surveyed and a trial excavation (Fig. 1:B) was undertaken in the Spring of 1964 by the writer with the help of J.A.Gilks, to determine the date and setting of the site. On visual survey no banks or prominences could be distinguished in the field or the adjoining field to the north where the alleged stone circle would have encroached. The land has undergone much agricultural cultivation and disturbance in the eighteenth century. Two trenches 1.0 metre by 3.0 metres were laid out near the site (Fig. 1B, A B), the turf was removed showing loose stones in the sandy soil in both trenches. The trenches were then carefully excavated but there was insufficient evidence to associate recognisable foundations for standing stones and no archaeological features or finds were made. However, a large scale excavation is needed to establish this site.

18. Watson *op cit.* in note 6, pp. 27-28.

19. Pridmore, E. J., *Fabric of the Hills* (1989), No page numbers.

*Comment on the Stone Circle*

Although the excavation of the alleged Robin Hood's Penny Stone circle did not reveal foundations for standing stones, and no archaeological features were found, generally the stones which made up these circles are usually upright and free-standing. This could account for the deficiency of foundations, although a large scale excavation would determine this site. In Calderdale two other stone circles are recorded at Walshaw Dean (SD 96553358), on Wadsworth Moor<sup>20</sup> and on Ringstone Edge Moor,<sup>21</sup> Barkisland (SE 04431830). The Walshaw Dean stone circle was discovered in 1902 near the site of the Walshaw Dean reservoir<sup>22</sup> but now the site is submerged by the Walshaw Dean middle reservoir.<sup>23</sup> When the peat was removed from the stones a circle comprised of ten stones was revealed of some 11 metres in diameter. The stones were spaced out at regular intervals with one large space at the south-west side which could represent an entrance to the site or a missing stone. It would seem that the larger stones were set in the clay, however, given a long period of time and their weight, they would have sunk quite naturally into the clay.

The stone circle that once stood on Ringstone Edge Moor was removed in an attempt to cultivate the moorland in the mid-nineteenth century. The stones stood upright above the bank<sup>24</sup> but the number of stones which formed the circle or its diameter is not known. Excavations by Longbotham in 1905 revealed a stone cist containing an urn and areas of charcoal<sup>25</sup> and a cinerary urn is alleged to have been found on a previous excavation in the centre of the circle.<sup>26</sup>

The true stone circles have not generally provided positive evidence for burial remains.<sup>27</sup> An excavation was carried out on the Walshaw Dean stone circle in 1902 to ascertain if it surrounded a burial. A trench was dug from the south-east side of the site to the centre which contained compact and undisturbed clay. Towards the centre fragments of charcoal were discovered and at the centre an area about 30.5cm in diameter was found to be filled with loose clay, thought to be the work of a previous excavation. From the excavation account<sup>28</sup> it seems unlikely that it surrounded a cremation, for no burnt bones are recorded as being found, but only fragments of charcoal which could represent the remains of a camp fire.

Stone circles also remain on Rombalds Moor to the north-west on uncultivated moorland, which were first surveyed by Raistrick in 1929.<sup>29</sup> In those areas where reclamation and stone clearance to create modern fields has been undertaken very few sites now survive. Two stone circles on Rombalds Moor at Grubstones (SE

20. Ogden, J. H., Discovery of an Ancient Stone Circle at Walshaw Dean, *Trans. Halifax Antiq Soc.* (1902), No page numbers.

21. Longbotham, A. T, Prehistoric Remains in Barkisland, *Trans. Halifax Antiq Soc.* (1932), pp. 168-172, Plate VI.

22. Ogden *op. cit.* in note 20, No page numbers.

23. Watson, G. G., *Early Man in the Halifax District* (1952), p. 56, Map .

24. Leyland, F. A., *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax* (1868), p. 26-27.

25. Longbotham *op. cit.* in note 21, pp. 172-174.

26. *Ibid.*, p.172.

27. Burl, A , *Rings of Stone: The Prehistoric stone Circles of Britain and Ireland* (1979), pp. 78-89.

28. Ogden *op.cit.* in not 20, No page numbers.

29. Raistrick, A , The Bronze Age in West Yorkshire, *Y.A.J.* 29 (1929), pp. 354-365.



13644472) and Twelve Apostles (SE 12594506) and the Bradup stone circle (SE 08954392) near Keighley are associated with ring-banks and they do not seem to have surrounded burial remains. Another stone circle on Rombalds moor at Horncliff (SE 13354354) is without a ring-bank and there is only tentative evidence to suggest it surrounded a burial or burials.<sup>30</sup> The Walshaw Dean stone circle on Wadsworth Moor is also without a ring-bank and in all probability the Robin Hood's Penny Stone circle would be without a ring-bank.

Of the twenty or more stone circles in Yorkshire only three or four have stones more than 0.9 metres in height and about 11 metres in diameter. It is most unfortunate that no dimensions were recorded for the alleged Robin Hood's Penny Stone circle and the number of stones it consisted of before it was destroyed for building stone walls. The Walshaw Dean stone circle was some 11.0 metres in diameter which had an average height for the stones of 76 cm and the circle on Ringstone Edge Moor is 30 metres in diameter,<sup>31</sup> comprising a well spread earth and stone bank averaging 0.3 metres high and 3.5 metres wide. Before the stones were removed they were recorded as 3 feet high above the bank.<sup>32</sup> and it seems likely that the diameter of this stone circle would be about 15 to 18 metres.

The stone circle was a very simple shape to set out with the aid of a rope attached to a central long wooden pole; not surprisingly the majority are indeed roughly circular. The origins, function and date of these stone circles remain obscure, Aubrey Burl suggests that they must have been raised to enclose sacred ground that served as a meeting place for tribes or smaller communities probably on the occasion of seasonal festivals.<sup>33</sup> Some stone circles contain cremation burials, like the Ringstone Edge circle, but this was not their primary purpose and the most plausible theory explained is that these were token offerings made at the time the circle was built.<sup>34</sup> It is suggested that stone circles were probably the counterparts of henges,<sup>35</sup> with the banks and ditches giving way to a circle of raised stones, although in some cases banks were also retained. In West Yorkshire only one true henge site is at present known at Ferrybridge to the east of Calderdale, which had been ploughed-out but still shows as a crop-mark.<sup>36</sup> It is also believed that stone circles, like henges, were meeting places and used as centres where stone axe trading was carried out, and it may be significant that a stone axe-hammer (Fig 3) was found at the site of the Robin Hood's Penny Stone circle.

In Calderdale the Robin Hood's Penny Stone circle and the Ringstone Edge circle were broken up for wall building, and the Walshaw Dean circle is now submerged by a reservoir so these stone circles cannot now be dated. There is no evidence that any stone circle was built in the British Isles after 1200 BC. A deterioration in

30. Wardell, J., *Historical Notices of Ilkley, Rombald's Moor, Baildon Common and other matters of the British and Roman Periods* (1869), p. 17.

31. Most recently drastic changes have occurred on Ringstone Edge Moor, where the farmer has ploughed up virtually the whole field which has not only affected the circle, but many cairns in the area. In view of the extensive damage caused by the farmer, little could probably now be done to salvage any archaeology.

32. Leyland *op. cit.* in note 24, pp. 26-27.

33. Burl *op. cit.* in note 27, pp. 36-54.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-45.

35. Burl, A., *Prehistoric Stone Circles* (1988), p. 13.

36. Riley, D. N., Recent Air Photographs of Duggleby Howe and the Ferrybridge Henge, *Y.A.J.* 52 (1980), p. 178, Plate 2. and Riley, D. N., *Yorkshire's Past from the Air* (1988), pp. 12-15.

the climate caused the abandonment of many upland rings, and changes in religious belief may have led to the neglect of others. The latest known carbon 14 date of  $1200 \pm 150$  bc (Gak-787) was for a small circle at Sandy Road, Scone, Perthshire.<sup>37</sup> The erection of stone circles appears to have tailed away at about c.1400 BC, and with them came to an end the long period probably over 2000 years, during which time the people of Britain put their greatest creative efforts into building religious monuments.

## THE STONE AXE-HAMMER

### *Circumstances of Discovery*

The only information known about the circumstances of the discovery of this stone axe-hammer (Fig. 3) is recorded in Bankfield museum's early accession register, as a 'British stone hammer found at Robin Hood's Penny Stone, a druidical remain, Warley 1872 (AH-15). Subsequently, the axe was illustrated in Ling Roth's *The Yorkshire Coiners* 1906 and recorded as a 'Hammerhead found at Robin Hood's Penny Stone, Warley in 1872.'<sup>38</sup>

At the time of discovery in 1872, much agricultural cultivation was taking place in the fields around Wainstalls,<sup>39</sup> so it seems most likely that it was found during agricultural activities in a field near to the site of Robin Hood's Penny Stone (Fig. 1).

### *Description of the Stone Axe-Hammer*

The Robin Hood's Penny stone axe-hammer (Fig. 3) is complete 25.7 cm long which has an almost elongated shield-shaped outline with a maximum width of 10.6 cm across the cylindrical perforation. The thickness varies from 4.5 cm to 5.0 cm and from the somewhat rounded-shaped butt-end the sides of the implement follow a slightly curving line towards a rather blunt and smooth cutting edge. The implements faces appear parallel from the cutting edge to the butt. The cylindrical perforation of the implement is centred 6.5 cm away from the butt which is 3.5 cm in diameter, 4.0 cm from the top of the implement. The sides of this perforation hole are smooth, but the hole for a wooden haft has not been drilled vertically through the implement, it has been drilled at an angle of some 12°, which means there is a difference of 1cm from one face of the axe through to the other side face.

The axe-hammer was very well finished by grinding and all faces polished smooth, but now it is badly scarred with some scratch marks on the surfaces. In colour the implement varies in shades of grey all over and with the exception of a few minor irregularities. It has not been possible to submit it for thin-sectioning, but a provisional examination suggests that it was made from a slab of fine-grained sandstone.

37. Stewart, M. E. C., Excavation of a Circle of Standing Stones at Sandy Road, Scone, Perthshire, *Trans. Proc. Perthshire Soc. Nat. Sci* 11 (1966), pp. 7-23.

38. Roth *op. cit.* in note 1, p. 302, Fig. 211.

39. Pridmore *op. cit.* in note 19, No page numbers.



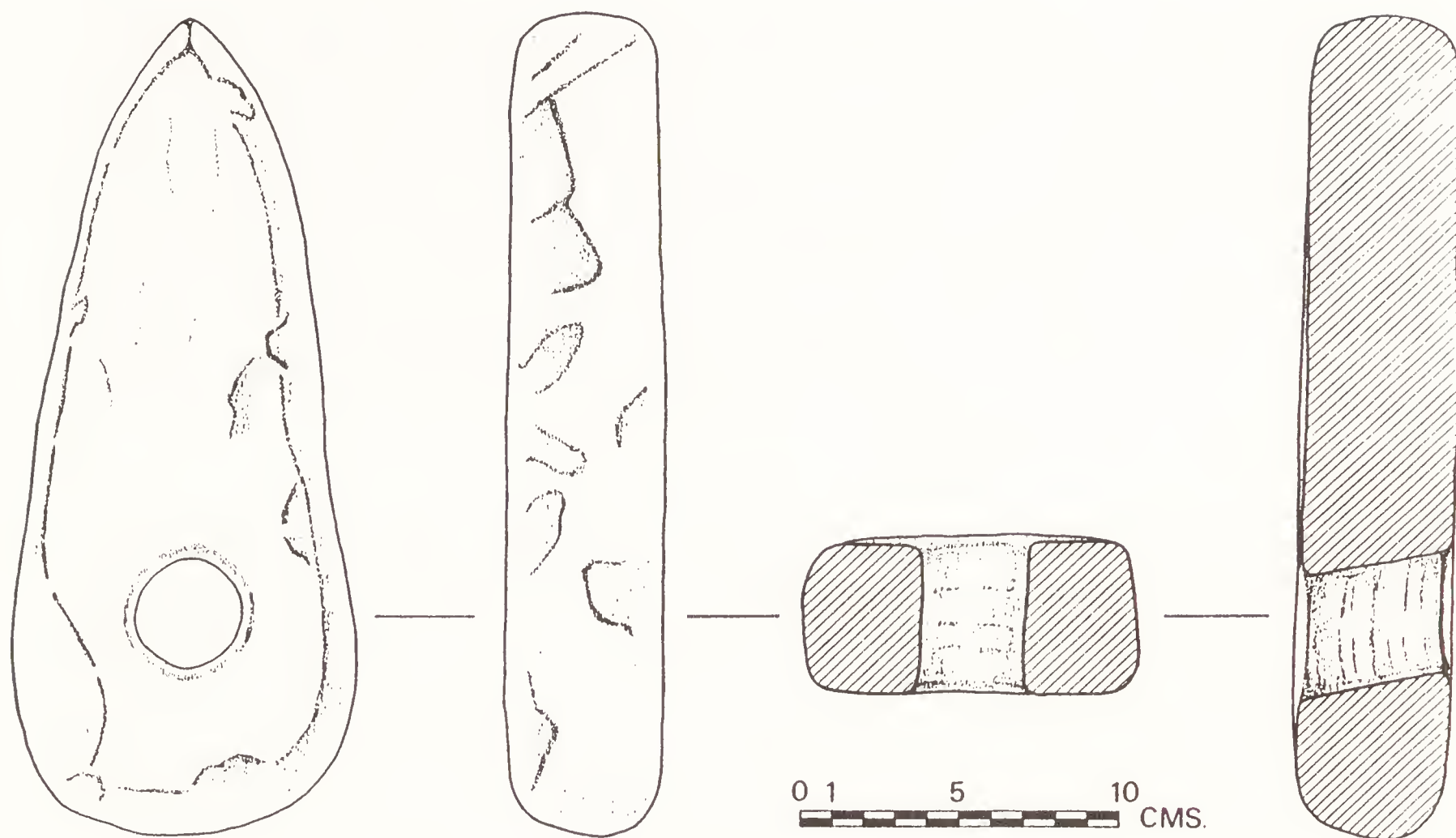


Fig. 3. Axe-Hammer from Robin Hood's Penny Stone, Wainstalls.

*Comment on the Stone Axe-Hammer.*

The Robin Hood's Penny stone axe-hammer is rather poorly made and has a rough appearance; it is not a well balanced implement and does not exhibit a fine symmetry like Battle-Axes.<sup>40</sup> The axe-hammer has a slightly convex shape when viewed from the side, which allows it to be placed in Fiona Roe's Class 1<sup>41</sup> and as the implement has its greatest thickness at the butt end it may be further placed in Sub-Class Ia.<sup>42</sup> Axe-hammers vary greatly in the details of their form and parallels are not easy to find, but some visual similarities exist between the Robin Hood's Penny stone axe-hammer and a Group XVIII axe-hammer from Lancaster, Lancashire.<sup>43</sup> This implement has a slightly convex profile and increases in depth towards its butt and like the Robin Hood's Penny stone axe-hammer does not exhibit a fine symmetry. The Lancaster axe-hammer does not possess polished surfaces seen on the Robin Hood's Penny stone axe, but instead has dished surfaces.<sup>44</sup>

The chronology of stone implements has been discussed by Smith<sup>45</sup> who

40. Roe, F. E. S., The Battle-Axe Series in Britain, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 32 (1966), pp. 199-245.

41. Roe, F. E. S., Typology of Stone Implements with Shaft Holes, in Clough, T. H. McK., and Cummins, W.A., (eds), *Stone Axe Studies.*, B. A. R. 23 (1979), p. 29.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30, Fig. 7, La 41.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

45. Smith, I. F., The Chronology of British Stone Implements, in Clough, T. H. McK., and Cummins, W.A., (eds), *Stone Axe Studies.*, B.A.R. 23 (1979), p. 13-22.



drew attention to the difficulties involved in the dating of this material. There are a few associated finds for stone axe-hammers, and they are without exception, unsatisfactory. A few are known to have come from barrows which were recovered during early excavations, and the records never make it clear whether they were in fact deposited with burials, or merely incorporated in the mound material.<sup>46</sup> The distribution of axe-hammers are widespread over most of Britain, but with a major concentrations in Lancashire, Cumbria and south-West Scotland. Group XVIII axe-hammers are found in the eastern half of England, with just one example recorded so far in Lancashire.<sup>47</sup> Smith suggests that on the basis of analogy between axe-hammers and battle-axes, these two classes of implements might have the same date range of *c.* 1650-1250 bc.<sup>48</sup>

There are few stone axe-hammers that have been found in a dated context and of the earlier dated, perhaps the best known are those from Barmston, North Humberside. These were found during the excavation of the Barmston 'crannog'.<sup>49</sup> Altogether three polished perforated axe-hammers, which were found to be broken at the central perforation, were discovered. They were found in a group beside a bank of gravel and were, like the rest of the occupation debris at Barmston, lying on what Dr. W. J. Varley called the shell bed. Two timbers for this site were radiocarbon dated to 1010 $\pm$ 150 bc (BM-122) and 940 $\pm$ 150 bc (BM-123). It is impossible to be certain if these axe-hammers found in fragments can be related to these dates, but because three were present, it points very strongly to their being in current use on the site, and which may have been used for felling the timbers as suggested by Varley.<sup>50</sup>

The fragment of a Group XVIII axe-hammer was found outside the Bronze Age settlement at Billingborough, Lincolnshire which was not in an archaeologically sealed context. This settlement site has radiocarbon dates of 1198 $\pm$ 57 bc (BM-1410) to 460-80 bc (HAR-2523).<sup>51</sup> A blade end of an axe-hammer was found during the excavation of a Bronze Age field system and settlement at Gwithian, Cornwall which belonged to petrological group XII (Cwm Mawr). It was found within layer 5 plough, (ard) furrow<sup>52</sup> which gave a radiocarbon date of 1120 $\pm$ 130 bc (NPL-21).<sup>53</sup>

Most recently an axe-hammer of petrological Group XVIII (Quartz dolerite), Class IIa with the remains of its wooden haft, was found in a peat deposit associated with a submerged forest at Cleethorpes, South Humberside.<sup>54</sup> The surviving haft fragment which is directly related to the implement was dated to 1440 $\pm$ 100 bc and 1380 $\pm$ 100 bc.<sup>55</sup> which fall just outside the date range suggested.

46. Roe *op cit.* in note 41, p. 30.

47. Roe *op. cit.* in note 41, p. 29, Figs. 5 and 6.

48. Smith *op cit.* in note 45, pp. 13-16.

49. Varley, W. J., Barmston and the Holderness Crannogs, *East Riding Arch.* 1 (1) (1968), pp. 12-26.

50. *Ibid.*, p.24.

51. Chowne, P., Bronze Age Settlement in South Lincolnshire, in Barrett, J., and Bradley, R., (eds), *Settlement and Society in the British Later Bronze Age*, B.A.R. 83 (1980), pp. 295-305.

52. Thomas, C., Bronze Age Spade Marks at Gwithian, Cornwall, in Gailey, A., and Fenton, A., (eds), *The Spade in Northern and Atlantic Europe* (1970), pp. 10-17.

53. Megaw, J. V. S., Gwithian, Cornwall: Some Notes on the Evidence for Neolithic and Bronze Age Settlement, in Burgess, C., and Miket, R., (eds), *Settlement and Economy in the Third and Second Millennia B.C.*, B.A.R. 33 (1976), pp. 51-66.

54. Leahy, K., A Dated Stone Axe-Hammer from Cleethorpes, South Humberside, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 52 (1986), pp. 143-152.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

The most important dates for these axe-hammers are those from Barmston and Gwithian which, if reliable, would extend the use of axe-hammers into perhaps the eleventh century bc. At present this is unproven but it is an indication that the use of axe-hammers may have continued long after battle-axe had ceased to be made.<sup>56</sup>

The Robin Hood's Penny stone axe-hammer represents an isolated find which can only now be dated within the range suggested by Smith of c. 1650-1250 bc. It is not possible to give a more precise date for this implement because it does not come from an archaeological context, and is lacking in associations, but it may be tentatively placed in the earlier part of the Bronze Age.

### *The Function of the Robin Hood's Penny Stone Axe Hammer*

There are a number of possible uses for stone axe-hammers which have been recently discussed by Kevin Leahy who draws attention to the difficulties of the hypotheses involved.<sup>57</sup> It is hoped that the Robin Hood's Penny stone axe-hammer will contribute further to our knowledge of the way in which these massive implements were used. It was appreciated by Pegge in the eighteenth century that axe-hammers were unlikely to be weapons and he considered them to be hammers or beetles of domestic use.<sup>58</sup> Although it is clearly true that a man armed with a weapon weighing about 2.730 kg (6. 1 lb), which is the average weight for a stone axe-hammer, would certainly have difficulties if engaged by a more lightly armed opponent, it should not be rejected as a weapon on these grounds alone.

Considerations have been given to the theories that axe-hammers were employed as handled wedges in splitting large timbers,<sup>59</sup> used in the felling of timbers<sup>60</sup> or that they formed the point of a plough or ard<sup>61</sup> and used in cultivation. The latter suggestion is worthy of serious consideration particularly in view of the discovery of the blade of an axe-hammer actually lodged within a plough furrow in one of the Gwithian fields, Cornwall<sup>62</sup> and the find of a stone axe-hammer, with the remains of its wooden haft, in a peat deposit<sup>63</sup> at Cleethorpes, South Humberside. The furrows in the Gwithian fields had V-shaped bases which were found on the surface of layer 6 following the removal of layer 5, the old plough soil. The marks left by ploughs or ards are now known from many parts of Britain and suggest that a light ard was generally used, one which scratched a groove-like furrow in the ground but was not provided with a mould-board to turn a furrow. Plough-heads which were responsible for making three marks may have been made by stone axe-hammers which have seldom been recognized.

The distribution of stone axe-hammers found in Cumbria are concentrated in the

---

56. Smith *op cit.* in note 45, pp. 13-16.

57. Leahy *op cit.* in note 54, pp. 147-149

58. Pegge, S., Observations on Stone Hammers, *Archaeologia* 2 (1773), pp. 124-128.

59. Bradley, R., *The Prehistoric Settlement of Britain* (1978), p. 13.

60. Varley *op cit.* in note 49, p. 24.

61. Thomas *op cit.* in note 52, p. 13. and Fowler, P. J., Later Prehistory, in Piggott, S., (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*. Vol. 1, Prehistory (1981), pp. 160-165.

62. Thomas *op cit.* in note 52, p. 13.

63. Leahy *op cit.* in note 54, 143-152.



lowland arable areas<sup>64</sup> which tended to be found in complete isolation. This pattern corresponds with lost axe-hammers that would be expected of implements used in tillage. An axe-hammer found at Cleethorpes was suggested by Leahy to have formed the point of an ard.<sup>65</sup> The implement showed faint striations on the polished sides of the blade which angled at around 10° running downhill towards the cutting edge, what are likely to be wear marks. These striations accord with the sort of wear that would occur if the implement was drawn through the soil with its cutting edge set vertically. However, the length of the haft does not support the hypothesis that this axe-hammer was part of an ard. There is the possibility that if the axe-hammer was mounted in some other way than vertically, could it be used as an ard point.

The Robin Hood's Penny stone axe-hammer retains some of its original polished surface, which also bears striations and scratch marks, but the implement is so badly scarred that it is now difficult to interpret these wear marks. The most important feature of this implement is the cylindrical perforation hole which has been drilled at an angle of some 12° for a haft. The angle of a securely fitted haft into the axe-hammer's perforation would permit the implements to be comfortably used as a hoe or maybe an ard. Many upland fields were too small for ox-drawn ploughs and could only have been ploughed using human traction. Also the Robin Hood's Penny Stone axe-hammer was found in isolation in what probably would have been an arable area.

The function of axe-hammers must remain a matter of some doubt, a number of possible uses have in the past been suggested, with objections raised against them all. Though the case is far from convincing, the writer favours an agricultural use for some of these stone axe-hammers, and in particular for the Robin Hood's Penny Stone axe-hammer. This implement is rather poorly made, badly scarred and with a drilled angle hole for a wooden haft, would have made a suitable hoe for breaking up ground.

#### *Acknowledgements*

The kind permission to excavate the Robin Hood's Penny Stone site was readily granted by Messrs Frank Clayton of Stone Farm, Wainstalls. I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Rumsby, Senior Curator of the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield for permission to publish the stone axe-hammer and for making all the prehistoric collection in his keeping available for study. I would also like to record my thanks to Mrs. Fiona Roe for information relating to the stone axe-hammer and to Mr. A. Bettridge, of the Central Library, Halifax for permission to reproduce and publish the illustration from Watson's book.

---

64. Bradley R., Prehistorians and Pastoralists in Neolithic and Bronze Age England, *World Archaeol.* 4 (1972), pp. 192-204.

65. Leahy *op cit.* in note 54, pp. 148-149.



## THE KNAPTON GENERATING STATION AND GAS PIPELINE EXCAVATIONS

by Jenny Lee

with contributions from  
John Dore and Jacqueline P. Huntley

Illustrations by Roger Simpson

### *Summary*

Archaeological excavations were undertaken at East Knapton in the Vale of Pickering on the site of a generating station and access road in 1993 and continued, the following year, along the length of an 18km gas pipeline corridor which linked it to five well sites. Six archaeological sites were identified and recorded within the area of the development including a previously unknown Romano-British enclosed settlement at the extreme eastern end of the corridor. The settlement comprised at least two roundhouses within a rectilinear ditched enclosure. On their abandonment the structures appear to have been incorporated into the system of field boundaries recorded to the east of the roundhouses. From the evidence of relict stream channels and canalised field boundaries it is likely that the settlement area was abandoned as a result of extremely waterlogged conditions which rendered settlement difficult in the low ground levels of the Vale bottom. Elsewhere along the length of the gas pipeline corridor field boundaries, trackways, an undated structure and pits provided evidence for activity within the western area of the Vale. The field boundaries dated from the late prehistoric to medieval periods and tended to cluster on the areas of better-drained post-glacial sand and gravel deposits rather than areas of alluvium or glaciolacustrine clay. It is considered that most settlement within the area was on higher ground particularly along the 30m contour skirting the Vale. This report discusses the settlement and principal ditch groups against a background of wider archaeological work undertaken within the Vale.

### INTRODUCTION

This report describes excavations undertaken by Northern Archaeological Associates (NAA) for Scottish Power plc in advance of the construction of an access road and generating station in 1993 and subsequently along a gas pipeline in 1994 in the Vale of Pickering, North Yorkshire. The completed pipeline was 18km long and linked five well sites to a gas-powered generating station located at Knapton approximately 11.5km east-north-east of Malton at SE 8875 7700 (Fig. 1).

## PROJECT BACKGROUND

The work was undertaken in order to meet the archaeological conditions agreed with the local authorities of North Yorkshire County Council and Ryedale District Council.

### *Generating station and access road*

In December 1992 NAA monitored thirty-one test pits on the generating station site and along the access road linking the power station to the B1258 Knapton to Snainton road (Abramson and Cardwell 1993a). Rapid fieldwalking in each of the six fields affected by the development identified pottery concentrations and intensive fieldwalking and geophysical survey was undertaken in selected areas. A mitigation strategy was prepared (Abramson and Cardwell 1993b) and excavations proceeded during June and July 1993. Evidence for a small enclosed settlement and an associated field system of later Roman date was recorded at the western end of the access road corridor (Lee *et al* 1994).

### *Pipeline corridor*

Rapid fieldwalking was undertaken in 38 fields out of 70 fields affected by the pipeline corridor and intensive fieldwalking and geophysical survey was carried out in selected areas. Eight sites of potential significance were identified along the route of the pipeline corridor by the assessment and evaluation. Excavations along the pipeline were subsequently carried out during June to August 1994 and a post-excavation assessment report (Lee and Abramson 1994) identified six areas where the nature of the archaeological deposits merited further analysis. Individual features or groups of features considered to be of lesser significance than the feature groups presented in this report have been excluded from post-excavation analysis in accordance with established guidelines (Andrews 1991). Information relating to these features can be obtained from the site records and processed database entries contained in the research archive held by Malton Museum.

## TOPOGRAPHY

The pipeline traverses the distinctive flat low-lying region of the Vale of Pickering which is enclosed on all sides by higher ground: the Tabular Hills overlook the Vale from the north, the Yorkshire Wolds overlook from the south and the Hambleton and Howardian Hills overlook the Vale from the west. To the east, separating the Vale from the North Sea, are a range of low morainic hills. The principal river draining the Vale is the River Derwent which rises approximately 10km north of Scarborough in the North York Moors, and enters the Vale via Forge Valley 4km to the southeast of Scarborough.

The present day topography of the Vale of Pickering was formed by a lake which existed in the Vale after the last glaciation. Once the inflow of glacial meltwaters ceased the lake gradually drained away and silted-up, persisting as scattered shrinking

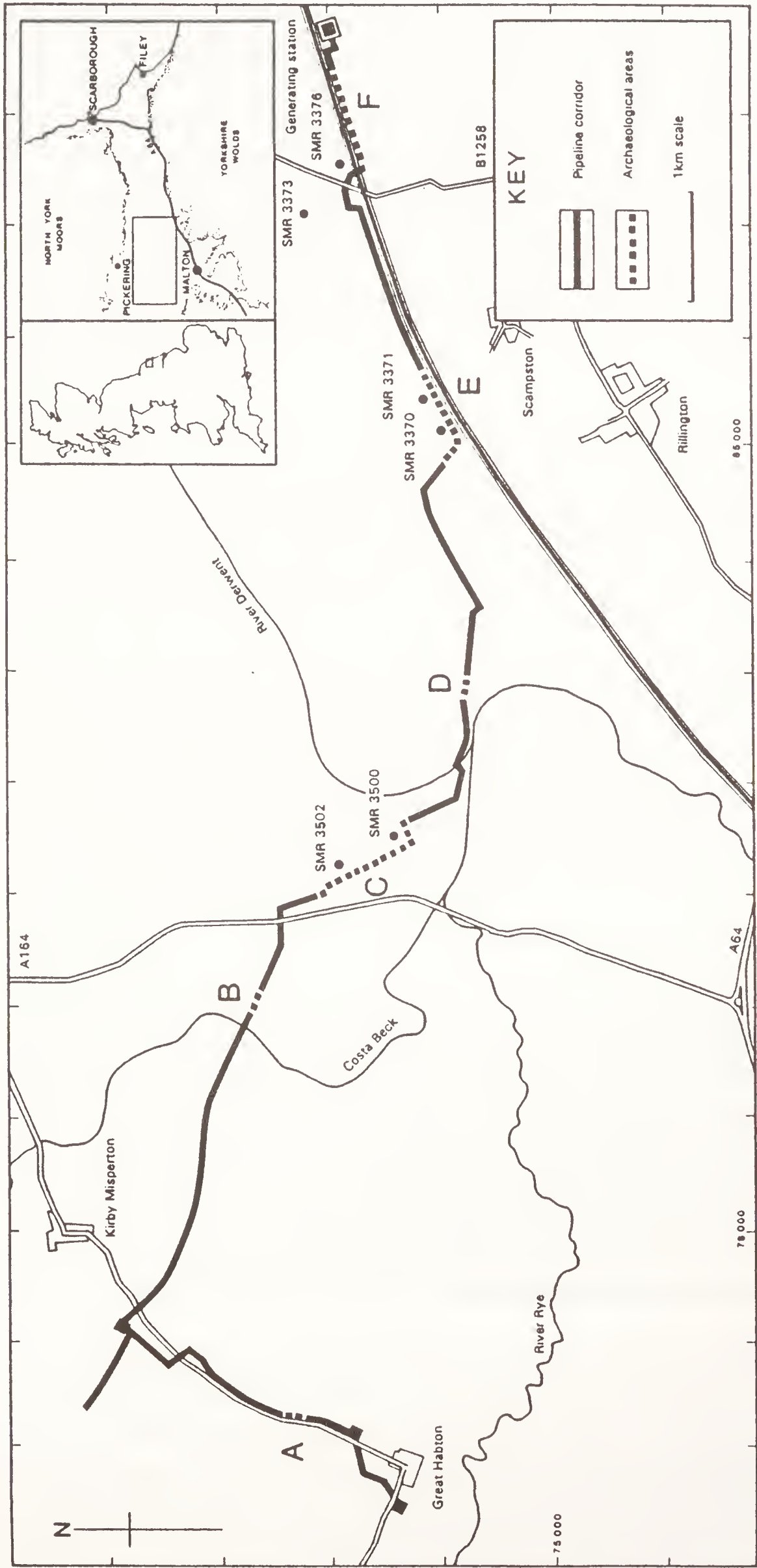


Fig. 1. Location of the six archaeological sites and the SMR sites along the pipeline corridor.



lakelets probably into post-Roman times (Hemingway 1993). During the medieval period the Vale of Pickering would probably have consisted primarily of rough grassland stretching outward from a central fen, as indicated by the many place-names containing 'ing' and 'carr'. The eastern end of the Vale was the wettest part and the first systematic attempts to drain the Vale were made in the later part of the 19th century by digging a network of hand-cut ditches (Schadla-Hall 1987). During the early 20th century the Vale was a patchwork of drained meadows still occasionally flooded, as for example in the very wet summer of 1927 (Clark 1931). Nowadays the Vale mainly consists of large well-drained arable fields and reseeded pasture. Parts of the Vale still flood in the winter; for example some fields crossed by the pipeline between Great Habton and Costa Beck were under water during the winter of 1993-94.

### *Geology and soils*

Seven soil associations of a glacial or riverine origin were traversed by the pipeline. Sites B to F discussed in this report were situated on the sands and gravels of three soil associations, namely, Landbeach, Blackwood and Wigton Moor. The exception to this, site A, was located on the glaciolacustrine clay of the Foggathorpe association.

The glacial and riverine deposits overly Upper Jurassic Kimmeridge Clay which surfaces along the northern edge of the former lake between it and the Tabular Hills. Kimmeridge Clay also outcrops within the Vale forming small 'islands' of higher ground. Although the pipeline traverses glacial and alluvial deposits along most of its route, it crosses an area of Kimmeridge Clay overlain by glacial till around Alma Farm (SE 7685 7913), 1km to the south-west of Kirby Misperton village.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The archaeology of the Vale and the surrounding area falls into three distinctive topographic groups; the high ground to the north and south of the Vale, the former lake margin and the Vale bottom itself. On the southern side of the Vale at a height of approximately 100m AOD, the site of Staple Howe was situated on a steep, flat-topped mound of chalk about half way down the northern slopes of the Yorkshire Wolds (Brewster 1963). On the northern margin the early Anglo-Saxon site of Wykeham was located on a prominent ridge of morainic sand and gravel (Moore 1965). Most settlement, however, appears to have been concentrated lower down the slopes which border the Vale at approximately 30m AOD.

Brewster observed that medieval settlements were distributed along the Sherburn Sands which were deposited at the base of the wolds by glacial meltwaters (Foster 1987). These settlements were a continuation of a network of prehistoric and Romano-British scattered farms which took advantage of the well-drained soils of the Sherburn Sands (Hurst 1988). Sites excavated along the southern lake margin include those at Rillington (Turnbull 1983), Sherburn (Brewster and Hayfield 1994) and West Heslerton (Powlesland 1986).

Archaeological investigation below the 30m contour has focused on the

north-eastern edge of the former lake bed at Starr Carr, one of the most significant early Mesolithic sites in Europe. The site was excavated by Clark (1954) whose work built on previous excavations at Flixton Carr by Moore (1950). Excavations and palaeoecological research at nearby Seamer Carr has led Schadla-Hall (1988) to conclude that during the 8th millennium BC the Vale represented one of the richest habitats in northern England for humans to exploit. These well-preserved Mesolithic sites, found under peat deposits at 24-26m AOD, would have been situated on the edge of fen carr-reed swamp overlooking an open body of water.

Elsewhere in the Vale, below the 30m contour, Raymond Hayes (1988) excavated deposits of probable Iron Age date along Costa Beck (SE 7782 8065).

## EXCAVATION RESULTS

Six archaeological sites (A - F) were excavated along the route of the pipeline corridor (see Fig. 1 for general locations). The principal archaeological features in each site are summarised below, but only feature groups within sites E and F are illustrated.

### *Site A*

Site A was situated in O.S. field 3853 (Great Habton parish) at SE 763 775, c.1km north of the village of Great Habton. The range of features within site A consisted of several shallow pits and at least two shallow linear slots. Seven out of a total of 20 features of possible prehistoric date contained flint ranging from Mesolithic to Bronze Age in date, including a late Neolithic arrowhead. Variations in the orientation of the linear features implied that they were not contemporary.

### *Site B*

A rectangular structure was located in O.S. field 0064 (Marishes parish) centred on SE 801 776. The structure consisted of two parallel slots with postholes at their ends. None of the features was more than 0.10m deep indicating the severity of truncation caused by ploughing. The structure was located on an 'island' of sands and silts at a height of 20m AOD in an area mapped as being glaciolacustrine clay. From the point of view of drainage the location of the structure was particularly well chosen as the evidence from a nearby test pit (number 112) indicated that in this area the depth of sand was at its thickest overlying the clay.

### *Site C*

Site C comprised a concentration of mainly medieval and post-medieval linear features situated within three fields to the east of the A169 Malton to Pickering road at Low Marishes centred on SE 813 768.

Two wide ditches, which produced Iron Age or Romano-British pottery, were aligned on a cropmark of a possible north to south aligned trackway (SMR



3500) and five shallow linear features aligned north to south were interpreted as medieval plough furrows. A linear cropmark (SMR 3502), which was bisected by the corridor and was on the line of a possible Roman road was not located within the corridor.

Area C was located close to the boundary of two soil associations (Landbeach and Foggathorpe) on the clay and silt alluvium of the River Derwent to the south-east, at a height of c.18m AOD.

#### *Site D*

Site D was situated in O.S. field 8200 (Rillington parish), centred at SE 829 759. A solitary sub-circular ditch with an external diameter of 4m was situated 28m from the eastern field boundary. The ring ditch measured 0.3m deep and 0.77m wide and contained no finds. No other features were recorded in close association with the feature although a small circular cropmark was recorded approximately 100m to the south-east of the ring ditch. Because of its small size and the absence of any internal features it is likely to have been related to an agricultural purpose rather than having a domestic or funerary function.

The ditch cut into the sands and gravels of the Wigton Moor soil association at a height of 21m AOD and the test pit closest to the ring ditch showed that it was on the deepest deposit of this glacio-fluvial drift.

#### *Site E*

Site E comprised four fields with a relatively high density of features situated at heights generally close to 25m AOD. Most of these were linear and dated from the Romano-British period to the post-medieval period. A concentration of cropmarks (SMR 3358), possibly relating to Romano-British settlement activity, was situated c.1km to the south of the corridor between Scampston and Rillington. Four Iron Age pits, a hollow way and a group of post-medieval pre-enclosure features (Fig. 2) were recorded in O.S. field 7726 in Scampston parish. The largest of the pits (5832), produced sherds of Iron Age pottery and measured 3.25m by 3m and 0.84m deep. Their edges were heavily mineralised by iron panning. Although pit 5832 was the only feature in the group of pits to contain dating evidence, all four contained blocks of hard angular chalk not present within the surrounding natural and not seen elsewhere within features on this excavation. There is a strong possibility therefore that the pits were all of a similar date.

#### *Site F*

Site F was located to the east of the B1258 Knapton to Snainton road and immediately south of the York to Scarborough railway line. The density of cropmarks in the immediate vicinity of the site suggest that it formed part of a wider archaeological landscape (Fig. 3) and excavations by NAA in 1993 along an access road to the power station site revealed an enclosed settlement and associated field systems of Romano-British date. The pipeline corridor ran parallel to and 5m



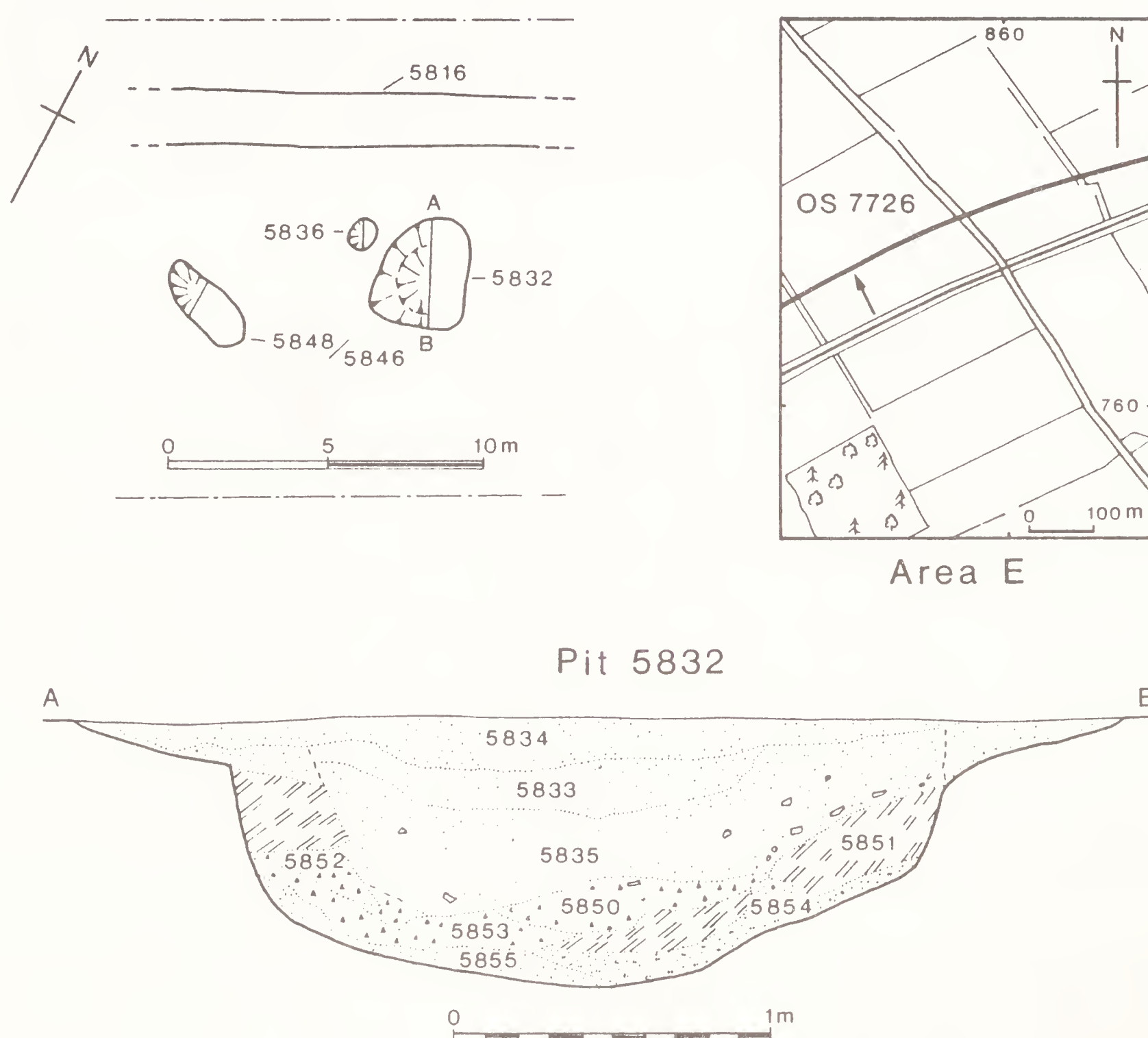


Fig. 2. Site E: Iron Age pits and a possible hollow-way, with a section through pit 5832

south of the access road in all but the most westerly of the fields. The greatest density of features relating to the settlement and the field systems and enclosures was in the three fields closest to the western end of the access road (Fig. 4).

#### Romano-British settlement — Site F

The principal features excavated in field 1 included two ring ditches (structures 1100 and 1101, Fig. 5; S2 and S3) inside a ditched rectilinear enclosure. This enclosure, which was probably defined by ditches 1004 and 1022, measured 104m east to west. On its south side the enclosure ditches merged with a canalised stream (Fig. 5; S5) which had been recut approximately four times. Later Roman pottery was recovered from the fills of ditches 1004 and 1006 (Fig. 5; S1 and S4) and Huntcliff ware was found in the fill of the circular slot of structure 1101 (Fig. 5; S3). A possible pit (1076), immediately south-east of structure 1100, contained several carbonised seeds of hulled barley and oats,

suggesting a late to post-Roman date, although an earlier date could not be discounted. Thirteen sherds of Romano-British pottery were also recovered from the pit. A curvilinear feature (1010) immediately to the west of structure 1100 may have been the surviving remains of a third ring ditch. Ditch 1026 (Fig. 5; S6) which overlay structure 1100 was probably a land division created after the house went out of use, perhaps as the area became progressively waterlogged.

#### Field system — Site F

Four north to south aligned ditches (1020, 1094, 1024 and 1095) in field 1 situated east of the enclosure described above were likely to have been field boundaries. Out of a cluster of six features located 25m east of field boundary 1095 one contained pottery which was dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD.

The western end of field 2 (O.S. field number 5867) was dominated by a relict stream channel which appeared to be part of a wider relict stream complex recorded on aerial photographs in fields immediately north of the railway line. Four ditches were recorded within the access road and pipeline corridors running approximately north to south and parallel to each other. A curvilinear feature (2017) with irregular sides (Fig. 5; S7) recorded only in the access road corridor contained four sherds of late Roman pottery. The fill of pit 2030 contained carbonised seeds of wheat of a medieval or later date.

Ditch 203 in the pipeline corridor terminated at pit 2002. This was one of several pits (2002, 2007, 2009, 301 and 307) which were characterised by organic peaty fills and were likely to have been natural waterfilled hollows which gradually accumulated organic material during the post-glacial period.

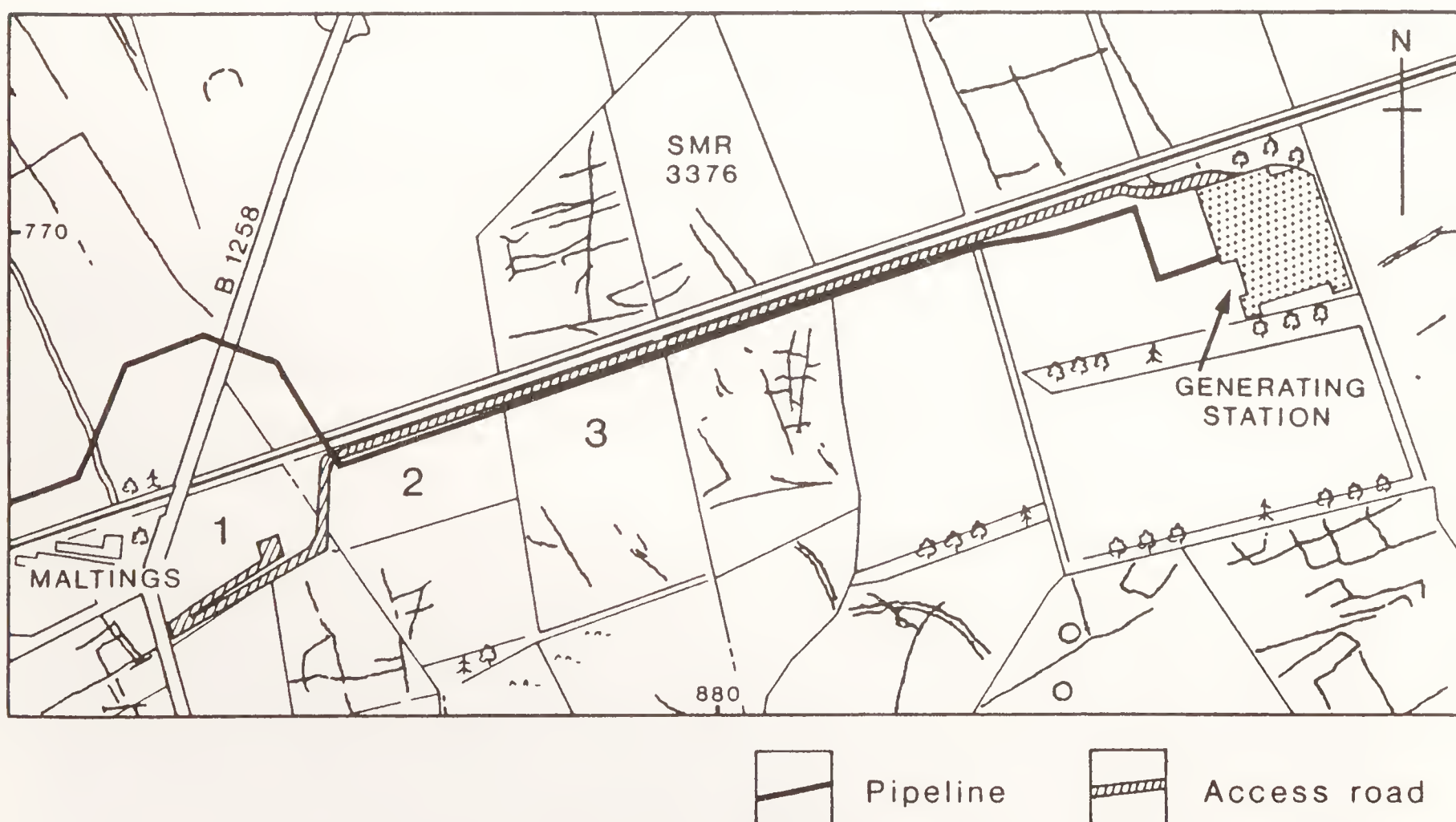


Fig. 3. Site F: cropmarks in the area of the access road and generating station.



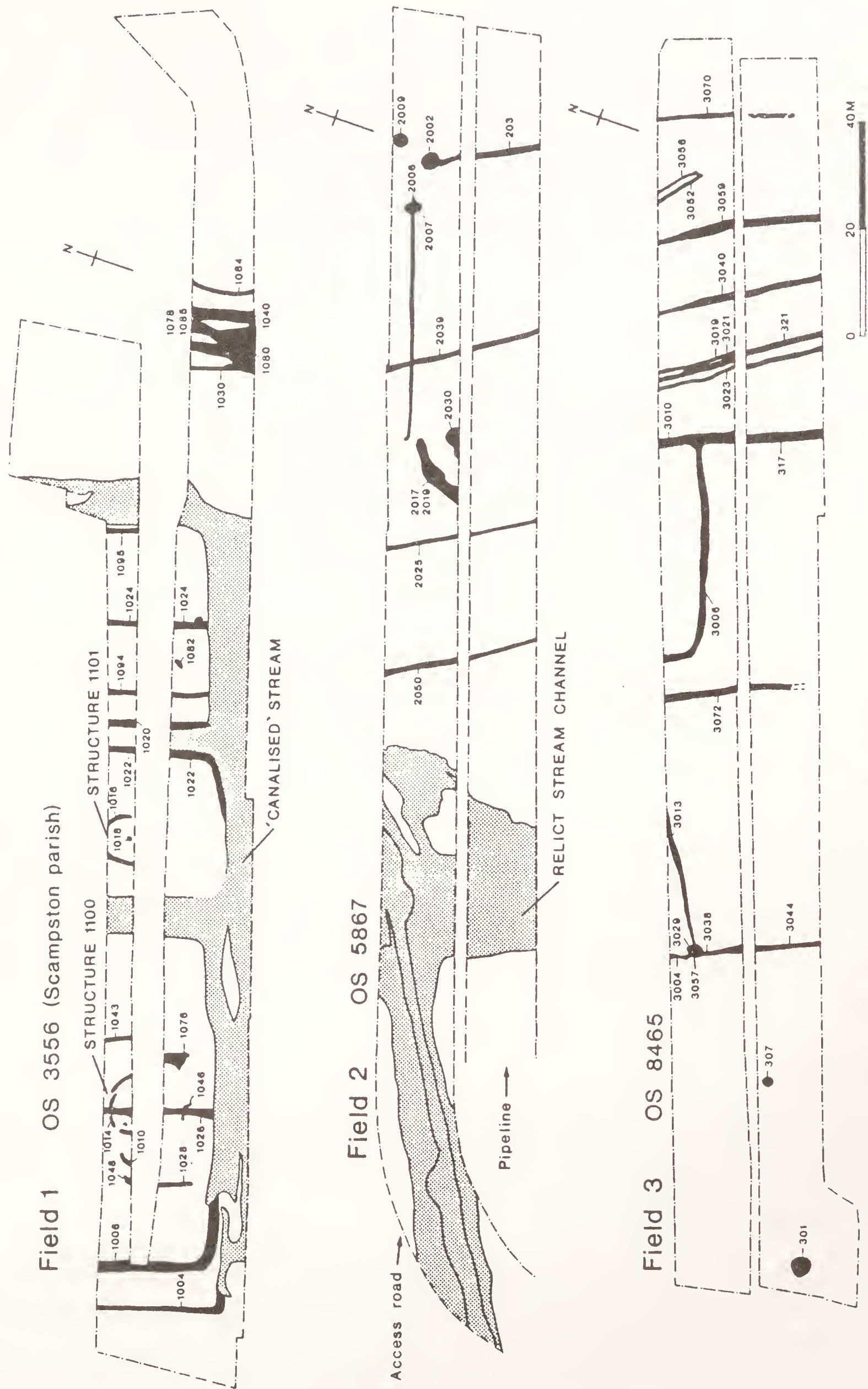


Fig. 4. Site F: the latter Roman settlement and field system in the first three fields of the access road.



The field system continued into field 3 where a second possible enclosure was situated. The enclosure was defined by ditches 3006 and 3010/317 and sherds of later Roman pottery were recovered from the fill of ditch 3010 (Fig. 5; S8). The fills of these ditches consisted mainly of a grey and orange sand, which differed from the dark and slightly peaty fills of the circular pit 3029 and the three ditches (3004, 3013 and 3038/3044) leading into it. These ditches may have formed a second enclosure in the field. Two shallow slots (3052 and 3056) in the access road corridor may have formed a trackway but this could not be demonstrated with any certainty.

## FINDS SUMMARY

The low range and quantity of finds recovered from the excavations accords with the rural nature of the sites. The principal artefact assemblages included flint and pottery (later prehistoric, Romano-British and medieval) and bulk environmental samples were processed on site and analysed at Durham University laboratories.

### *Flint*

Of the 21 struck flints, only two could be attributed to clear chronological periods; a later Neolithic arrowhead from a small pit in site A and a 'thumbnail' scraper usually found with Beaker associations from a shallow ditch in site C.

### *Pottery*

The pottery assemblage consisted largely of Romano-British sherds and locally manufactured calcite gritted wares of early Iron Age to Romano-British date. A small number of medieval sherds were also recovered. The acid soil conditions of some locations had dissolved the calcite inclusions (as well as any chalk and limestone) leaving angular voids and non-alkaline tempers such as flint and quartz.

### *Animal bone*

The acid soil conditions proved hostile to the preservation of bone and although two animal burials were recorded, they were both of post-medieval date.

### *Environmental analysis*

Carbonised cereal grains and chaff fragments were identified in three environmental samples from site F and the weed and ruderal groups produced indications of a varied landscape.

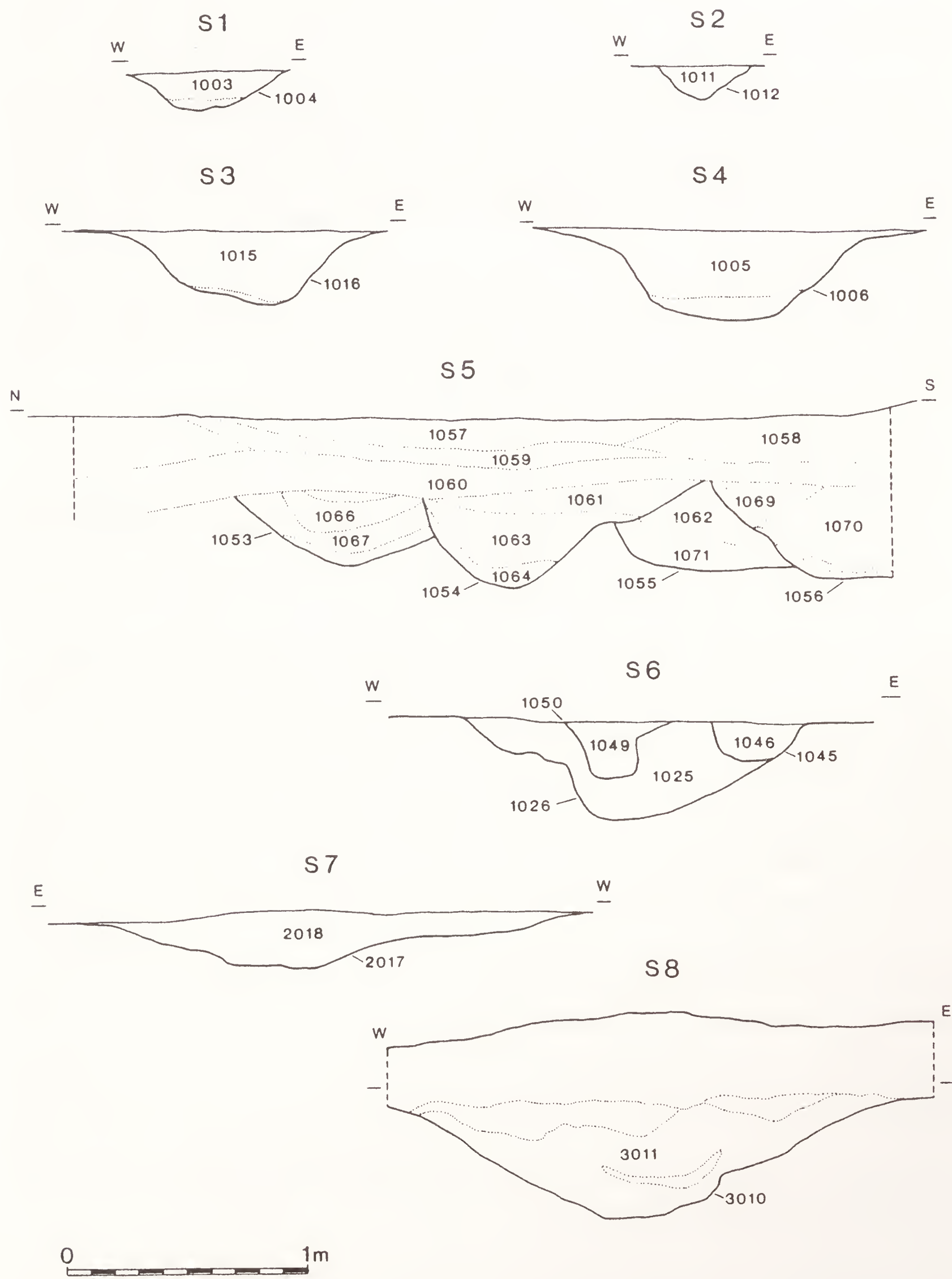


Fig. 5. Site F: sections across principal features of the settlement and field system.



## DISCUSSION

### *Prehistoric features*

The largest concentration of prehistoric features was recorded in site A and included two parallel ditches 75m apart and not aligned to the present day boundaries. One of the ditches contained flint dated to the Late Neolithic/Bronze Age and one contained flint dated to between the Mesolithic to Neolithic. Of the eight pits and hollows, two yielded flint, one of the flints being a Late Neolithic flint arrowhead.

Iron Age pottery was recovered from one of the four pits recorded in site E, although the proximity of the pits to each other and their similar fills indicated that they were all likely to be of the same date. The presence of a humic fill and bone fragments suggests that they were used as rubbish pits.

### *Iron Age to Romano-British period*

The two hut circles at the western end of the access road provided the only dateable structural evidence. Calcite-gritted ware from the ring ditch which defined structure 1101 was of Romano-British date as was an assemblage of thirteen sherds from a pit immediately adjacent to structure 1100.

The extent of the settlement remains uncertain; no evidence of further structures was found to the east and west of those recorded in field 1, and the northern extent of the enclosure could not be established. It is likely, however, that the hut circles are contained within a ditched enclosure and represent a nucleated settlement of relatively small size. A similar settlement may exist in the enclosure defined by ditch 3006 in field 3 to the east. A field boundary ditch, which contained Romano-British pottery in its fill, cut through the western structure suggesting that the area reverted to an agricultural use, possibly during the Romano-British period. The incorporation of the structures into the field system suggests that settlement in this area of the Vale during the later prehistoric and Romano-British period was not sustainable, possibly because of persistent flooding. The presence of seeds of aquatic species from the palaeoenvironmental samples points to a waterlogged environment and the numerous relict stream channels and a clay sub-soil provides the field evidence to substantiate this.

Elsewhere along the pipeline corridor, in area C, two trackway ditches recorded as cropmarks (SMR 3500) produced vesicular sherds of coarseware pottery which was considered by Manby to be of local manufacture dating from the early Iron Age to Romano-British period. Similar pottery was also recovered from ditches in site E, suggesting that the field systems were in use throughout the Iron Age and Romano-British periods.

### *Soil conditions*

The predominance of linear ditches found along most of the length of the pipeline corridor reflects the importance of an effective drainage system as a means of managing the land. Even today, with an extensive network of rivers, drains and

ditches, parts of the Vale remain subject to seasonal flooding. With the exception of site A there was generally a strong correlation between the areas of better drained soils and the location of archaeological sites. In site A the evidence of Late Neolithic to Bronze Age activity may suggest that the heavy clay soils were dry enough to be utilised at this time. Early activity in this area may have ceased because of an increase in wetness, possibly caused by the effects of forest clearance and resultant water run-off from the surrounding hills. Simmons (1993) emphasised that it is important not to underestimate the ability of earlier peoples to affect the run-off and even local geomorphology by their actions on the vegetation cover.

The results of test pit monitoring in advance of the construction of the pipeline corridor showed that sites B, D and F, at heights of between 20m to 25m AOD, were located in areas where the sand and silt or sand and gravel deposits were at their thickest overlying the glaciolacustrine clay. Site C, situated at 18m AOD, was located in a less well-drained position in that the Landbeach sands and gravels were much shallower. The site lay within 500m of the Rivers Rye and Derwent and was therefore well-positioned to take advantage of a probable yearly deposition of fertile alluvium. This appeared to have been reflected in the silty fills of some of the medieval and post-medieval ditches.

### *Zone of settlement*

The dearth of settlement-related features along much of the pipeline corridor combined with the absence of cereals from the environmental samples recovered from sites B, C and E suggest that the flat low-lying ground in the western region of the Vale of Pickering was marginal land and probably used mainly for pasture. Unpredictable water levels on the floor of the Vale would have dictated that settlement was an unrealistic option when compared with the better drained ground along the 30m contour. Thus the field system at site E was likely to have been pasture fields associated with a probable Romano-British ladder settlement (SMR 3358), which was itself situated close to the 30m contour to the north of Rillington.

Elsewhere, at site C, the two parallel ditches associated with SMR 3500 may have belonged to the network of trackways identified by Powlesland (1988) as linking a lowland zone of settlement based on the 30m contour with the “upland hinterlands” to the north and south of the Vale during the later prehistoric and Roman periods. The trackway may have crossed the River Rye at Howe Bridge, first recorded as a crossing point in the 13th century, but which may also be close to an earlier, Roman, river crossing.

Owing to rising groundwater levels the 30m settlement zone was abandoned around the 5th century AD (Powlesland *ibid*) when habitation moved further up slope to nearer the 40m contour and thus forming the present-day settlement pattern. Today few villages are situated in the former lake basin and most of those are on the Kimmeridge Clay outcrops, located for example, at Kirby Misperton and Great Barugh.

In conclusion, excavations along the 18km pipeline route and generating station access road identified six principal sites. With the exception of site A all of



the sites were situated on relatively well-drained sand and gravel sub-soils. The paucity of evidence relating directly to settlement activity within the corridor suggests that settlements may have been located on higher ground rather than on the wetter ground of the Vale bottom. Powlesland has demonstrated that the Vale margins supported a thriving population living around a flat low lying region and Simmons (1993) says archaeologists examining the evidence in the vale are only just beginning to unravel the “human-environment relations in what was doubtless a complex and intricate mosaic of land, swamp and open water.”

## ROMAN POTTERY

by

J. Dore

One hundred and twenty two sherds of pottery recovered from the access road excavation of 1993 were examined. Of these, six were of post-Roman date. The majority of the Roman material dates to the later 3rd or 4th centuries AD, though only three sherds can be positively assigned to the later 4th century AD (context 6069). Only three sherds are likely to date to before the 3rd century AD (contexts 1031, 5011 and 6003).

### *Catalogue*

1003

1 rim sherd bead and flange bowl. Probably Crambeck fabric. Late 3rd-4th century AD.

1005

4 wall sherds calcite gritted fabric.

1015

2 wall sherds calcite gritted fabric.

1025

1 wall sherd grey ware.

1031

4 wall sherds jar or flagon; grey with orange surface. 1st or 2nd century AD.

1044

7 wall sherds, 2 rim sherds same vessel: everted rim jar in calcite gritted fabric.

1051

3 wall sherds calcite gritted fabric.

1 wall sherd hand-made calcite gritted fabric.

1080

1 wall sherd jar in grey ware. Probably a large narrow-mouthed jar.

1081

2 wall sherds.

2005

1 wall sherd calcite gritted fabric; dark grey with pale buff surface. Probably from a jar.

2018

1 rim sherd, 3 wall sherds, probably from the same vessel; grey brown with some calcite inclusions; wide mouthed jar or bowl Crambeck. Late 3rd-4th century AD

3011

3 wall sherds calcite gritted fabric.

## PALEOENVIRONMENTAL SAMPLES

by

Jacqueline P. Huntley

### INTRODUCTION

Archaeological work was undertaken by Northern Archaeological Associates during the summer of 1993 along the line of an access road through the Vale of Pickering in North Yorkshire. The site was situated c.3km west of West Heslerton where extensive Romano-British and Saxon occupation has been excavated. East Knapton therefore had the potential to investigate the agricultural activity of an area known to have been densely occupied for some millennia.

### METHODOLOGY

The site was well drained and therefore only carbonisation preservation was expected. Bulk samples were taken from negative features as they were excavated and sent to the Durham Biological Laboratories for processing and assessment. The samples were floated to 500 and sorted for their biological and artefactual remains. Notes were made of the nature and size of the flot and seeds/fruits identified. Smaller flots were completely analysed. The large flots had a proportion of their material scanned only.

### RESULTS

Most of the flots produced some seeds although few were carbonised. Some of these were clearly modern - particularly the *Polygonum* and *Chenopodium* species which contained endosperm (visible when broken) - and are considered no further.

A second group of "waterlogged" material was produced from a selection of samples with distinct organic layers in them - visible in the field. These layers had



been overlain by sands and probably "hill wash" and therefore may be of some age. The species cannot, however, give any indication of this age.

The nature of the taxa suggests that water was present and relatively long standing in at least some of these features. Taxa such as *Menyanthes trifoliata* (bog bean), *Carex rostrata* (bottle sedge) and *Zannichellia palustris* require consistently wet conditions although can tolerate some level of fluctuation in water level. At least some of these features must therefore have had water in them for some years if not tens of years. Other of the aquatic group are taxa commonly found on wet muddy ground around ponds rather than growing in water themselves.

The group of hedge or scrub taxa suggest that the local landscape was not totally open grassland/agricultural land and that shrubs may have been growing quite close to the pond-like features. The taxa are characteristic of nutrient-rich areas. The weeds and ruderals group are varied with taxa representing acidic soils (*Spergula arvensis* and *Rumex acetosella*) and basic soils (*Linum catharticum*). Other than some of the aquatic species, none are abundant, and they simply indicate that a variety of ecological habitats was available for colonisation.

Carbonised cereal grains and chaff fragments were present in three of the samples. Their numbers were always low and any interpretation offered must, therefore, be tentative. The few weed seeds are from taxa characteristically associated with cereal cultivation as represented by archaeological deposits. The presence of hulled barley and oats in one sample suggests a late to post-Roman date for context 1051 although the oats could be from the wild species and thus the material could be from the early Iron Age. There is a transition from naked to hulled barley about 500BC-1AD throughout much of Britain although more data are needed to both tie the date down more closely and to suggest testable reasons for the change. *Triticum aestivum/compactum* - bread/club wheat - is generally a species of the medieval period onwards, thus suggesting a late date for context 2031. The grains themselves were not well preserved although the brittle wheat rachis fragment was - the hairs along its edges were clearly preserved. The presence of chaff and straw fragments suggests that these crops were locally being processed and were probably of local origin.

## DISCUSSION

In summary, the samples produced some indications of a varied landscape at unknown period(s) of time. There were clearly times at which some of the shallow features contained water and that they retained it for some years thus allowing the development of a true aquatic vegetation. There are also indications of muddy surrounds to these features - possibly as a result of usage or trampling by people, but this is pure speculation. Hedges or scrub was clearly present in the vicinity and fruits from these fell into the ponds and were preserved. There is no indication of deliberate dumping by humans and the features are considered to have naturally filled in at least in the early stages. The layers of overlying sands may have been deliberate or may simply reflect material being blown in from adjacent cultivated fields. The very limited carbonised material indicates samples of possible Iron Age to medieval or later date. No evidence for prehistoric occupation was seen.

The low levels of plant remains are disappointing especially given the rich deposits from West Heslerton. However, it may be that the land at East Knapton was agricultural (arable or pastoral) but that occupation as such was not nearby.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are owed to the following individuals and organisations for their help and assistance throughout the course of the Knapton Generating Station project.

Without the commitment, co-operation and financial support from Scottish Power plc, from the inception of the project to its completion, this report would not have been possible. In particular the co-operation of Ewan Stewart and John McGhie in Glasgow and Steve I'Anson and Steve Dunn at Knapton during all stages of the project was invaluable. David Langham of Kelt UK Ltd was instrumental in arranging access for site survey and the goodwill of the landowners on whose land the pipeline and generating station were situated was appreciated. The task of finds and sample processing was considerably eased by the use of facilities generously provided by Mr. John Dawson of Alma Farm. A close working relationship with Richard Pollard facilitated the successful conclusion of the access road and generating station stage of the project, and liaison with Mr John Buchanan of Costain enabled the pipeline corridor excavation to progress smoothly.

The successful conclusion of the project is a tribute to the members of the excavation team, who at all times approached their work with expertise and professionalism. The illustrations were the creation of R.K. Simpson. *The Council of the Society is grateful to Scottish Power for a grant in support of the publication of this report.*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abramson, P. and Cardwell, P., (1993a). *East Knapton Test Pits: Archaeological Monitoring of Test Pits for Scottish Power plc*. NAA report 93/1. Unpublished.
- Abramson, P. and Cardwell, P., (1993b). *North Yorkshire Power Project Preliminary Civil Works. Archaeological Field Survey for Scottish Power plc*. NAA report 93/4. Unpublished.
- Andrews, G., (1991). *Management of Archeological Projects*. English Heritage.
- Brewster, T.C.M., (1963). *The Excavation of Staple Howe*. East Riding Archaeological Research Committee. Winteringham.
- Brewster, T.C.M. and Hayfield, C., (1994). Excavations at Sherburn, East Yorkshire. *Y.A.J.* 66:107-148.
- Clark, J. G. D., (1954). *Excavations at Star Carr*. Cambridge University Press.
- Clark M. K., (1931). Iron Age sites in the Vale of Pickering. *Y.A.J.* 30: 15-72.
- Corder, P. and Kirk, J., (1932). *A Roman Villa at Langton near Malton. East Yorkshire*.
- Foster, S.W., (1987). The Sherburn Sands of the Southern Vale of Pickering, in S.E. Ellis (ed) *East Yorkshire Field Guide*. Quaternary Research Association. Cambridge.
- Hayes, R.H., (1988). Costa Beck Iron Age Site, in P.R. Wilson (ed) *North-East Yorkshire Studies: Archaeological Papers by Raymond H. Hayes, MBE, FSA*. Roman Antiquities Section, Yorkshire Archaeological Society.
- Hemingway, J.E., (1993). Geology and Topography of North East Yorkshire, in D.A. Spratt (ed) *Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North East Yorkshire*. CBA Research Report 87.
- Hurst, J.G., (1988). Medieval Rural Settlement in Eastern Yorkshire with Special Reference to the Wolds and the Vale of Pickering in T.G. Manby (ed) *Archaeology in Eastern Yorkshire: Essays in honour of T C M Brewster FSA*. Department of Archaeology and Prehistory University of Sheffield.
- Lee, J., Abramson, P. and Cardwell, P., (1994). *North Yorkshire Power Project: Archaeological*



*Excavations at Knapton Generating Station*. NAA report 94/5. Unpublished.

Lee, J. and Abramson, P., (1994). *Post-Excavation Assessment of the Pipeline Construction Phase of the Knapton Generating Station*. NAA report 94/24. Unpublished.

Moore, J.W., (1950). Mesolithic sites in the Neighbourhood of Flixton, North East Yorkshire. *P.P.S.* 16: 101-119.

Moore, J.W., (1965). An Anglo-Saxon Settlement at Wykeham, North Yorkshire. *Y.A.J.* 41: 403-444.

Powlesland, D., (1986). Excavations at Heslerton, North Yorkshire 1978-82. *Arch. Journal* 143:53-173.

Powlesland, D., (1988). Approaches to the Excavation and Interpretation of the Romano-British landscape in the Vale of Pickering, in *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire*. BAR 193: 139-150.

Schadla-Hall, R.T., (1987). Early Man in the Eastern Vale of Pickering, in S.E. Ellis (ed) *East Yorkshire Field Guide*. Quaternary Research Association. Cambridge.

Schadla-Hall, R.T., (1988). The Early Post-Glacial in Eastern Yorkshire in T.G. Manby (ed) *Archaeology in Eastern Yorkshire: Essays in Honour of T. C. M. Brewster*. FSA. Department of Archaeology and Prehistory University of Sheffield.

Simmons, I.G., *et al* (1993). The Impact of Neolithic and Bronze Age Cultures on the Environment, and The Iron Age and Romano-British periods, Chapters 4 and 5 in D. A. Spratt, (ed) *Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North Eastern Yorkshire*. CBA Research Report 87.

Turnbull, P., (1983). Excavations at Rillington, 1980. *Y. A. J.* 55 1-9.

## RECENT ROMANO-BRITISH METAL DETECTOR FINDS IN THE SHEFFIELD AND ROTHERHAM MUSEUM COLLECTIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN SOUTH YORKSHIRE.

By

Martin J. Dearne and Julien Parsons

### *Introduction*

Despite the archaeological investigations at the major Romano-British sites of South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire, such as Templeborough (May 1922), Rossington Bridge (Buckland forthcoming and unpublished Doncaster Museum records), Doncaster (Buckland and Magilton 1986) and Chesterfield (Ellis 1989), few assemblages from rural sites have been published to provide a comparison in terms of dating, prosperity and possible socio-economic links. There seems to be a clear need to assess the relationship between the major urban and military sites of South Yorkshire, and their farming hinterland.

With the comparative lack of systematically investigated rural sites, especially south of the river Don, the importance of clusters of surface finds becomes paramount in trying to illuminate settlement patterns. Examination of casual finds, especially those recovered by metal detectorists, can offer an important opportunity for research. It should of course be noted at this point that metal detecting as a recovery method is obviously restrictive; primarily in terms of material located, depth of burial and other technical factors but also in terms of the areas to which access is allowed. Possibly the greatest worry for archaeologists is the unknown sample which never makes it into the public domain for recording. Though even given the inherent biases of the sample, it would be foolish to ignore such an important body of data, especially given the paucity of alternative evidence to work on.

In the 1980s two metal detector users, Mr J. Rickett and Mr J. Walton, presented a substantial and important collection of artefacts to the City Museum, Sheffield and Clifton Park Museum, Rotherham. The two collectors of the material kept accurate records of find spots and also retained some of the non-metallic objects associated with the finds. The recovered material consists mostly of Romano-British copper-alloy small finds with which this paper deals, although it should be noted that artefacts from other periods were also collected by the same detectorists from similar areas (for example Parsons 1992).

The Romano-British and possibly late Iron Age material comes from 13 concentrations and find-spots. They are all situated on the strip of Magnesian Limestone which forms a narrow band running north-south through the region (Fig. 1). The majority of the finds derive from pockets of woodland close to areas



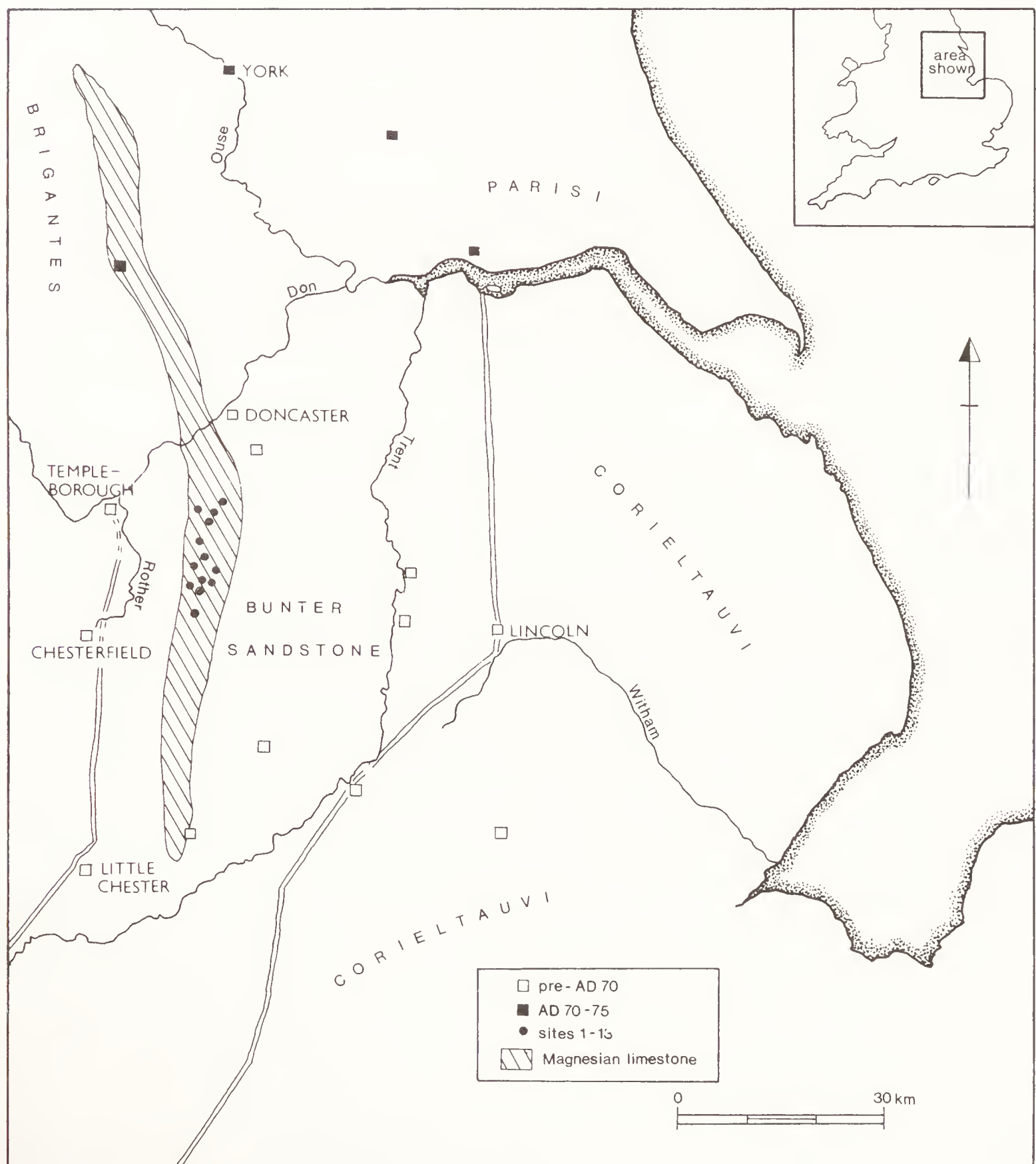


Fig. 1. Map showing 13 concentrations and find spots

of large urban population, none have any statutory protection and consequently they are vulnerable to further metal detecting activity. For this reason both authors feel it is unwise to reveal site names or grid references which may put at risk any structures or stratigraphy which may remain undisturbed.

Three of the sites to be discussed have already been cited in print with their locational details, namely site 5 (Beswick et al 1990) and sites 10 and 11 (Jones 1980, 182). Suppression of the details of these sites seems of little point at this stage and a possible source of confusion. Bona fide researchers requiring further information should consult the South Yorkshire Sites and Monuments Record, Rotherham and Sheffield Museums.

The intention of this paper is to publish the primary evidence for this group of sites, to assess the finds from each area in terms of their implications for dating and prosperity, as well as to bring to notice some intrinsically important finds. The non-ferrous metal finds are discussed firstly in typological terms, and are then

placed in the context of other finds from the same areas to allow a discussion of each assemblage. This is then set in the context of other known sites on the Magnesian Limestone area of South Yorkshire, followed by more general discussions on the implications of the finds corpus.

The brooches have been discussed more fully than is often the case in finds reports because they include a number of 'oddities' and provide, for the first time, a chance to define characteristic types found in South Yorkshire, some of which are quite insular.

## The Catalogue

All non-ferrous metal objects in the Sheffield and Rotherham Museum Rickett and Walton collections, certainly or probably of Romano-British (or in a few cases possibly late pre-Roman Iron Age) date for which a close provenance within the study area is available are included in this catalogue. One brooch in the British Museum found by Mr Rickett, an iron brooch at Sheffield and one non-Rickett/Walton find have been included as well in the interests of thoroughness. Rickett/Walton collection finds from outside the study area (including a Knee brooch as Hattatt (1985) No. 479 but with a cast loop on a plinth above the head) or without close provenances are excluded. Amongst the latter are a Hod Hill brooch foot, a horse harness mount and pendant with millifiori enamel decoration (Dearne and Parsons 1993) and three Dolphin brooches in Rotherham Museum.

Museum accession numbers (prefaced respectively S, R and BM) are given after the catalogue numbers and are followed by the site number from which the find comes. Illustrated items are indicated with an asterisk and the following abbreviations are used (all measurements being in cm): L Length; W Width; Th Thickness; H Height.

A) Brooches (Copper Alloy unless otherwise stated)

\*1 S:1985.613 Site 3 L 4.75

Colchester brooch. A one piece brooch with a six turn spring, the external chord held by an applied hook on the head which continues as a tapering projection on the front of the bow. The spring is hidden by small plain wings. The continuously curved bow is plain without footknob and the catchplate almost entirely missing.

2 R:A1993.22 Site 6 L 6.06

A slightly longer example but otherwise as the last. All but the chord of the spring is lost and again much of the catchplate. The very end of the foot is broken.

Standard undecorated Colchester brooches (e.g. Hawkes and Hull 1947 pl.89 No. 12). At the type site they were considered to run up to about the time of the Boudican rebellion, having changed little since the late Iron Age. At Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1989, 123f) one stratified example from Flavian levels compared to four pre-Flavian ones supports this but might imply that a few at least were still in use ten to fifteen years later. The King Harry Lane evidence (Stead and Rigby 1989, 100f) is of limited use for the present Colchester type as it would suggest an obviously fallacious early end to the floruit. Although Colchesters are mainly restricted to areas traditionally identified as 'Belgic' a few clearly filtered north as far as South



Yorkshire and another comes from west of Doncaster with a couple more from Rossington Bridge (Doncaster Museum records) while a few others are published from more northerly parts of Yorkshire (e.g. Stead 1971, 39), and even from Nether Denton (Snape 1993, 84 No. 235).<sup>1</sup> The loss of the catchplate here prevents attributions to groupings based on the patterns of piercing in them and there is nothing else to distinguish them from the typical Colchester (Stead and Rigby 1989, 89ff type d).

\*3 S:1985.250 Site 3 L 4.75

Hod Hill brooch. The pin is hinged on an axis bar in a housing formed by rolling the plate-like head into a tube. The head runs forward a short distance before turning down sharply and splaying a little. The sub-triangular plate so formed has a central arris, divided at the top to define a flattened triangle. Either side of the arris punched decoration consists of a full and partial scroll. Below, a concave waisted moulding separates this area from a stepped back, narrow, tapering, plate-like leg with forward facing footknob.

A fairly uncommon type within the Hod Hill family of which only four other British examples seem to be known: Nettleton (Wedlake 1982, Fig. 50 No. 18); Colchester and Ixworth, Sussex (Crummy 1983, Fig. 5 No. 35 and *passim*); and Chichester (Down 1978, 283 No. 41). The last, broken near the head, seems identical to our example, the Nettleton brooch shares its punched scroll decoration and the Colchester example has crescentic niello inlays. More distantly related are brooches such as one from Thurlton, Norfolk (Hattatt 1987 No. 1395) with a thin straight leg and engraved triangles on the upper bow, in turn linked to more common varieties with side knobs from e.g. Waddon Hill and Germany (Hattatt *op cit*). None of the close parallels seem to be from a dated context but there is no reason not to cite the general Hod Hill family dating in Britain which, conventionally, is from the conquest to c.60 with survivals to c.70. However, one from Caerleon baths is from a context dated c.75-110 (Brewer in Zienkiewicz 1986 No.1) and the presence of a total of three at Little Chester, Derby (Mackreth 1985a) and Manchester (Jones and Grealey 1974), which are Agricolan/early 80s foundations makes this dating questionable. It may well transpire that the type was in use in what were still largely frontier areas, albeit as survivals, until nearer c.80 and certainly Mackreth's (in Down 1989, 189) view that the few in northern England should have entered the ground by c.75 needs closer examination. Another strong pointer to the accepted dating of the Hod Hill's demise being too early is the occurrence of five in the King Harry Lane settlement at St. Albans (c.70-250) though they are curiously nearly absent from the earlier cemetery there (Stead and Rigby 1989, 101f).

\*4 R:A1993.25 Site 7 L 4.55

Hod Hill (?'fiddle') brooch. The iron axis bar of the lost pin is held as in the last. The head then runs forward at right angles becoming a triangular plate,

1. Snape's (1993, 109 Nos. A2-3) listing of Allason-Jones and Milet (1984) Nos. 3.15 and 3.72 from South Shields as Colchester brooches is misleading, the former appears to be a Neuheim Derivative and the latter somewhere in the Aylesford or Almgren form 19 traditions, though Snape (*op cit*, 100) does acknowledge that the latter at least is not a true Colchester brooch.

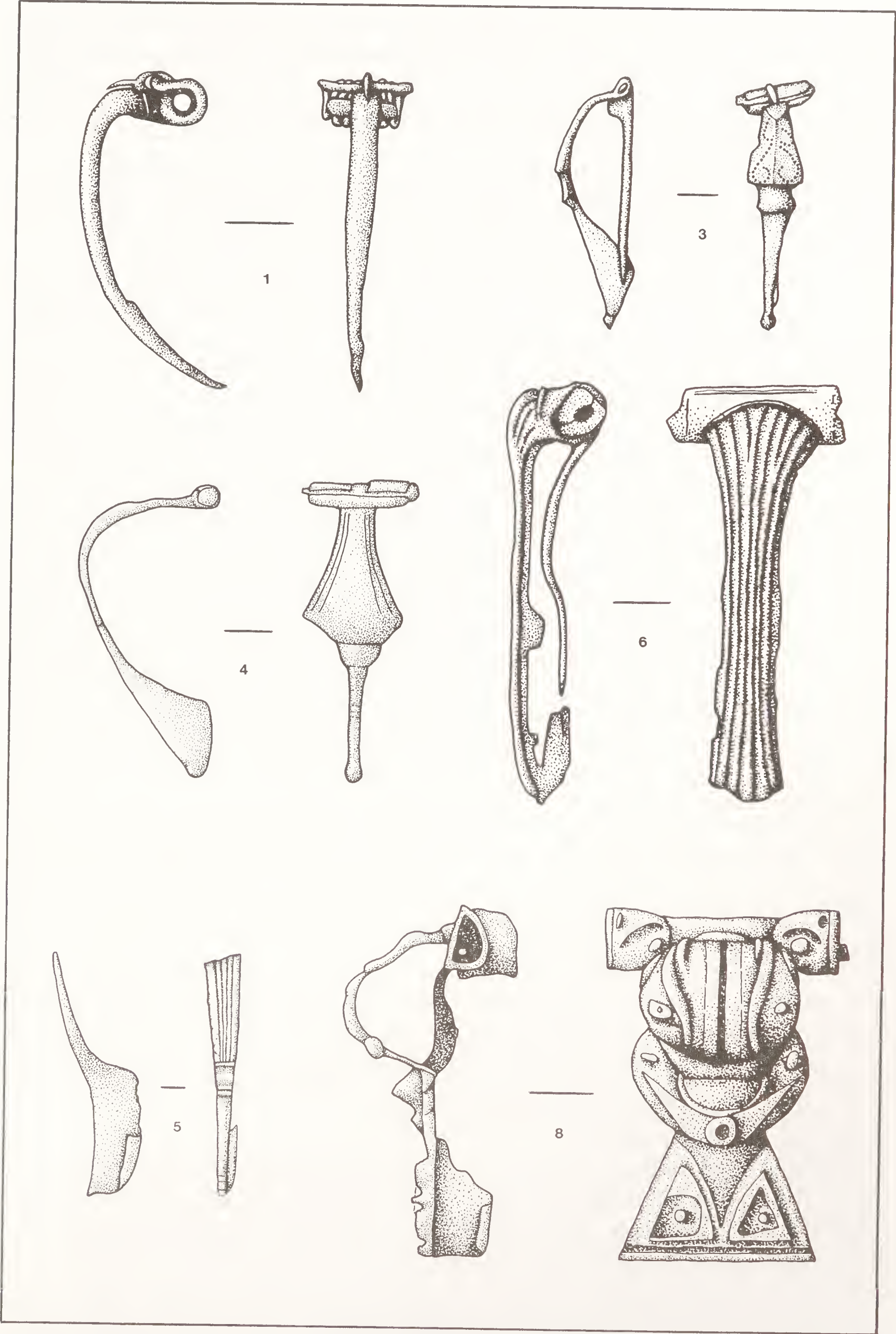


Fig. 2. Brooches 1 - 8



narrowing and thickening at the point where it curves boldly down to form the upper bow. The latter splays to form a triangle, now distorted by corrosion, with marginal grooves and a short, central, rectangular moulding at its base from which springs a thin tapering leg with a small footknob. The narrow catchplate extends up to the top of the leg.

This is a most intriguing brooch. Frontally it seems to be a 'fiddle' brooch, a ?British copy of Hod Hills (e.g. Hattatt 1982 Nos 58-9; 1985 No. 345 = 1987 No. 857). Discussing the latter Hattatt notes only twelve known to him, almost all from Hod Hill in Dorset and the most distant said to be from East Anglia; though a fragment from Nettleton (Wedlake 1982, 121 No.23), in a doubtlessly residual fourth century context, might be related. The Hod Hill type being copied was presumably that as at Camerton (Jackson 1990, No. 105). In profile, however, the present brooch is more like certain true Hod Hills (e.g. Hattatt 1987, No. 849) than the gently curving 'fiddle' form. If it were not for the anomalous location of the find, given the otherwise tight clustering at Hod Hill, one would have little trouble in accepting that the present example represents simply a rather closer imitation of Hod Hill types than most 'fiddle' brooches. If so its date of manufacture (though not of course necessarily loss) should not probably be much after c.50/60 by when the 'real thing' must have been widely available in the south. A parallel development of the 'fiddle' in South Yorkshire somewhat later than at Hod Hill might of course have occurred but it would be unsafe to suggest this on the basis of one example. In summary a tentative date before c.50 is offered for No. 4 but whether it made the long journey from Dorset or represents some unrecognised episode of northern copying of Roman brooch types is unclear.

\*5 S:1985.625 Site 3a L 3.6

?Hod Hill brooch fragment. The lower half of a brooch with a narrow, continuously tapering, plate-like lower bow without a true footknob. The initially straight bow has a central ridge with grooves either side stopped by three cross grooves, then curves back and forwards again. The catchplate had flat upper and lower edges and an angled back.

Excepting the profile of the lower leg this fragment would clearly belong to a well known variety of Hod Hill brooches (e.g. Leach 1982, Fig.116 No. 18) and it is probably just a variant example and to be dated as No 3. A codicil that it could alternatively belong to some part of the very variable T-shaped Colchester Derivative tradition (or just possibly to an unusual Aucissa brooch) should be added.

\*6 S:1985.795 Site 4 L 6.15

Langton Down brooch. The six turn spring is enclosed in tubular wings, cast open and then closed around it. The fronts of the wings are decorated with single incised lines at the ends and a double one at the top. The bow has eight ribs down its length and the damaged catchplate was pierced, probably triangularly.

7 S:1985.617 Site 3a L 2.2

?Langton Down brooch fragment. Very corroded but originally with a head formed like the last's, traces of a swelling at the top of the bow and probably a

wide, central, raised line down the head and bow. The latter is now only a short stub but was probably straight in profile and flat. The identification is not certain but seems likely.

Langton Down brooches, whilst less common than some contemporary types, are well known and their somewhat limited variation (usefully discussed by Olivier 1988, 44f; see also Stead and Rigby 1989, 91ff) helps little in refining the dating of pre-conquest (?c. A.D.10) to c.60. For what it is worth No. 6 is Olivier's 'Standard Form' and shows none of the devolution of form perhaps characterising late examples (cf. Mackreth in Woodfield and Johnson 1989, 220; Olivier *op cit*).

\*8 BM P1985.5-2.1 Site 2 L 5.25

Aesica brooch. The mainly missing iron pin appears to have been hinged on an iron axis bar in tubular wings which appear to have been cast open and then closed around it. The front of the wings have a raised moulding at each end with, originally, a crescent surrounding a boss on each. The upper bow is bipartite. The front, oval and highly curved plate, cast integrally with the rest of the brooch, is damaged but highly moulded. A central groove is flanked by raised lines curving outward at the top with a pellet at the upper margin between the groove and each line and a boss each side of the raised lines; one of these at least is badly damaged but the other has an incised line below it. Grooves at the upper left and right margins demark slight 'ears' (near the left of which is a small hole). At the base of the front bow plate is a broad crescentic moulding (perhaps with traces of broken projecting knobs). The larger oval back plate projects below the front with a raised semi-circular moulding around their meeting point, a (?winged) pellet either side of the top of this and a crescentic moulding at its lower margin with a circular moulding at its centre. The lower bow is fan like and straight with two curve-edged raised triangles leaving a flattened V in the centre. Within each triangle is another with further eroded mouldings and a central nipple. The foot of the leg has a groove along it. The back of the rear upper bow retains the stub of a casting pipe at its centre. There are traces of a white metal surface on the front of the brooch.

Aesica brooches developed from continental Rosette types (probably broadly around the time of the conquest) as the present brooch with its circular plate at the junction of the front and rear bows indicates. They were never very common and the best of them, probably as here, were presumably expensive items. The practicalities of casting such a brooch would mean that a mould could not be re-used and partly explains why repeats of the decorative schemes are rare. Mackreth (1982) has outlined what is presently known of the origin, distribution, typology and something of the limited dating evidence available for Aesicas and it seems that in decoration and profile the present brooch might stand near to the eponymous example of the type which Mackreth (1982, 314f) attributes to 65-75. However, much remains to be established about the Aesica as the present brooch demonstrates, it being as far as the author (MJD) knows the first recorded instance of a bipartite bow Aesica with what seems to be a hinged pin. Unfortunately though this helps relatively little with dating, hinge mechanisms probably appearing not too long after the mid-first century and certainly allowing of a date in the



latter 60s or 70s. Though it does probably preclude a pre- or immediately post-conquest date. In summary the brooch most probably dates to the second half of the first century and emphasises that the variation within the Aesica type, and the implications for dating are not yet fully explored.

\*9 S:1985.688 Site 13 L 9.9

Aucissa brooch. The axis bar of the hinged pin remains in the grooved, rolled over head of the brooch. The bow has a deep P-shaped profile but any decoration has corroded away. The short leg ends in a corroded ball foot with a central groove. The catchplate is lost.

\*10 R:A1993.31 Site 7 L 4.05

Aucissa brooch. As the last with the mechanism lost but decorated with marginal and a pair of central ridges on the bow and a beaded ridge at its top. The foot is bun-like.

Some Aucissas may have filtered across the channel prior to the conquest but their principal introduction was with the army in 43 and their floruit was Claudio-Neronian. Examples from Flavian contexts are probably residual as the King Harry Lane evidence emphasises (Stead and Rigby 1989,101).

\*11 S:1984.518 Site 8 L 4.4

Colchester Derivative brooch. The iron pin is hinged in tubular wings, cast open and then closed around it. The wings are long with a single groove at each end and a diagonal groove across their centres. The head is bounded by small 'appendages' as in Polden Hill types but flattened on top with the remains of a crest (?pierced for suspension) along its centre. The continuously curved bow has a step on each side on its upper half and the front a deep groove bordered by much smaller ones. The wide, squarish catchplate is short and there is no footknob.

This brooch, as with many others does not seem to belong to any well defined group within the Colchester Derivative tradition, but its parentage is perhaps to be found in two groups of decoratively variable brooches, one sprung and one hinged. Their distributions are principally in the south west and the south midlands but they also appear in south Wales and Staffordshire (Mackreth 1985, 139). The 'appendages' or extra mouldings either side of the head and the bow profile are the main indicators of this, while the long groove to the bow on the present brooch is perhaps a development of that on Mackreth (1985, No. 6) and the crest on the head is present in the progenitors, even if there any piercing is usually to take an external chord from a spring. The wings here though are longer, plainer than on many of the former groups and form a rather different pin anchorage at least to the Polden Hill sprung variety. Indeed, our brooch could justifiably be placed in the rather catch-all group the T-shaped brooches. Dating is not easy. The parent types, if they have been correctly identified, seem to run from c.75 to perhaps c.125, though the hinged form has less dating evidence than one would like (Mackreth 1985,139) and one feels that the present brooch ought to lie in the second century probably before c.150, but even this must be taken only as an informed guess.

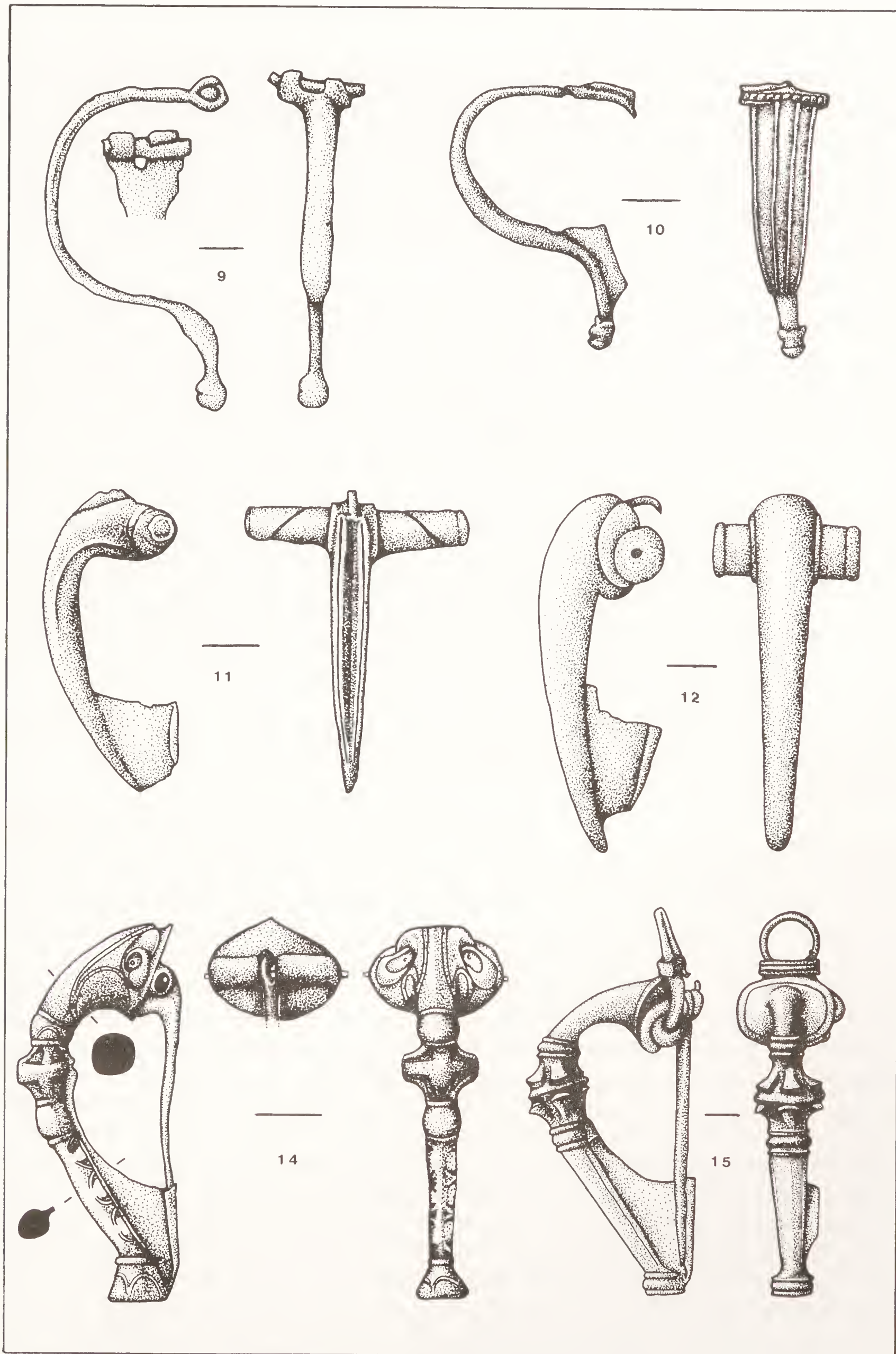


Fig. 3. Brooches 9 - 15



## \*12 R:A1993.29 Site 10 L 5.2

Colchester Derivative brooch. The sprung pin is held in the Polden Hill manner on an axis bar (here of iron) located in pierced plates at the ends of the wings with an external chord held by a rearward facing hook on the back of the head. The well humped and continuously curved bow is flanked by two large mouldings ('appendages') at the wing junctions. The wings are short with a ridge at the end of each. The bow is plain and any footknob broken off, though if it is lost the break has worn or corroded to disguise any loss. The catchplate has a deep groove beside the bow on one side.

This is a slightly heavy set example of a brooch type spread from the Severn Valley north and east to areas such as the south Pennines (e.g. Mackreth 1985a, Nos. 4-8 from Derby; and examples from Wigber Low (John Collis excavations, to be published) and Roystone Grange (Richard Hodges excavations, to be published) in the Peak) but which seems to be far less common east of the Pennines. The Polden Hill spring anchorage, 'appendages' and often short wings with end ridges are common features but the bow decoration, or its absence, is variable. Mackreth (op cit, 285) dates their inception without footknob to before c.75 and the main run to the later first and early second centuries. Since the present brooch seems to have a catchplate springing from the bow above its foot, (whereas the catchplate on examples with a footknob usually runs to full bow length) a footknob is less likely to have existed and so a date somewhere c.75-100 seems most likely, though not guaranteed.

## 13 S:1982.111 Site 3 L 4.7

Six coil spring with axis bar and external chord probably from a Colchester Derivative brooch with a Polden Hill spring anchorage.

## \*14 S:1985.687 Site 8 L 5.54

Trumpet brooch. The pin is hinged on an axis bar in a tubular moulding behind the flat backed head. There are traces of the ends of a wire suspension loop in the ends of the tubular moulding and a worn nib on the head would have kept it from falling forwards. The head is decorated in a late Celtic relief style, in profile at least appearing to represent a zoomorph of a bird (?of prey)'s head. On each profile the 'beak' is formed of a raised line running down the centre of the head, turning sharply down and then back up in a concave curve. It then divides into two, one element running up to frame the 'eye' and the other running below the head. The 'eye' is formed of a prominent crescentic moulding on its inner and lower edges and a smaller moulding on its outer margin which define a sunken eyeball with a raised circular pupil at its centre. There is a worn central arris down the trumpet shaped head. The bow knop is of three elements, a central acanthus/petal bounded moulding with wide ridge bounded mouldings above and below, all continued but a little flattened at the back. There are traces of lobes on the upper element and since the brooch is heavily worn they were probably originally present on both outer knop elements. The 'stumpy' lower bow is worn but was of sub-triangular section. On each side of it are abraded mouldings identifiable as crescents or lobes enclosing raised spots, or more probably 'commas'. The foot knob below a cross moulding is large and conical with raised lobes on it. The catchplate continues vestigially up to behind the bow knop, partly obscuring its mouldings.

\*15 S:1985.797 Site 1 L5.65

Trumpet brooch. The pin is sprung on a rolled sheet axis bar held in a pierced lug behind the centre of the head. The ends of a wire suspension loop are tucked in to the axis bar and the 'figure of eight' loop secured by a strip metal collar with two horizontal grooves. The head is ellipsoidal with a small flattened flange and is plain. The bow knop, only vestigial at the back, is of a central acanthus/petal bounded moulding with triple mouldings above and below. The lower bow has a very prominent central arris with medial grooves and a plain three element foot.

\*16 S:1985.600 Site 3 L 7.0

Trumpet brooch. Sprung with a suspension loop as No. 15 but with the collar beaded between ridges. The head is plain and the bow knop of an acanthus/petal bounded moulding, continued but poorly moulded at the back. The lower bow is plain with a circular footknob hollowed (?for enamel) underneath. The catchplate rises from it and the lower bow narrows to accommodate it. The brooch was broken and repaired across the upper bow in antiquity.

\*17 S:1985.796 Site 1 L 7.75

Trumpet brooch. Sprung with a suspension loop as No. 15 but the collar having only a beaded line. The head is steeply swept back top and bottom, the axis bar lug running the full distance between the upper and lower margins, and so appears very narrow and ellipsoidal frontally. The head has a central arris. The bow knop is a very large circular button projecting far forward, continued at the back and decorated with raised elongated lozenges and raised lobes between them on the upper and lower margins of the button. There are beaded mouldings above and below it separated from it by flutes. The long lower bow has a splayed central arris or moulding and the footknob is a series of small cross-mouldings, the largest beaded, above a flute separating them from two further cross-mouldings. The catchplate continues up to behind the mid-bow knop.

18 S:1985.798 Site 7 L 3.1

Fragment of a probably identical brooch to the last, broken off below the bow knop and missing spring and suspension loop. The bow knop is abraded.

19 R:A1981.39 Site 10 L 5.6

Trumpet brooch. Sprung as No. 15 with a square tab cast above and integrally with the axis bar lug indicating the use of a lost wire suspension loop. The trumpet head is plain with a flattened flange and central arris. The petalled/acanthus bow knop is continued at the back and bounded top and bottom by triple mouldings. The leg has marginal grooves and ends in a large three element circular footknob from the top of which the catchplate (with a vertical groove on its rear) rises.

\*20 R:A1980.6 Site 10 L 5.9

Trumpet brooch. The presumably sprung pin was held between two now distorted pierced lugs cast behind the hollowed head. The brooch is now rather flattened and a little distorted and corroded but the ellipsoidal trumpet head is surrounded by a flat ellipsoidal plate with the remains of a ?rectangular plate above. The head itself has grooves defining 'ears' at its upper edges and pairs of diagonal ridges at its base. A flattened central strip with traces of a white metal finish runs down the upper bow to a petalled/acanthus knop with single mouldings above and below. The knop is not continued at the back of the bow but there is a circular hole there. The lower bow is tapered a little with a central raised, flattened strip and



marginal flattenings (all again retaining traces of a white metal finish). The foot is ball-like and forward slanting below a cross-moulding and surmounts a small boss. The catchplate is broken and distorted but ran up to the back of the knop.

\*21 R:A1993.24 Site 10 L 4.65

Trumpet brooch. The sprung pin, held on an axis bar through a single pierced lug behind the head remains. A suspension loop is cast above the circular head plate which is fronted by a triangularised trumpet head with a central arris and broad lentoid mouldings with upper bounding ridges. The bow is plain but for a very corroded petalled/acanthus knop and ends in a small forward facing footknob. The brooch is very corroded but a pin groove on the catchplate seems to retain traces of a white metal finish.

‘Classic’ Trumpet brooches are common finds, especially in northern England and most including Nos. 15-19 follow a more or less standard format. Unfortunately, their lack of formal development often makes any attempt at close dating fairly forlorn and uncertainty about the type’s origins, chronologically and typologically, compounds this. Whether it developed from the Aylesford type or Kraftig Profilierte brooches (see e.g. Boon and Savory 1975, supporting the former) the earliest dated example known to the author (MJD) remains the fully developed, and repaired one from the Lunt of c.75 (Hobley 1969, 110, Fig. 19.9). To push the inception date back beyond 65/70 on archaeological evidence at the moment would therefore seem wrong. Yet, since Trumpet brooches continued to be made until at least c.150 and probably passed out of use gradually in the next quarter century. Nos. 15-19 might date anywhere within a bracket of a hundred years plus.

Nos. 17 and 18 however with their distinctive mid-bow knops seem unlikely to be first rather than second century. These two brooches also provide a rare opportunity to say something about the products of an individual workshop, for others matching them very closely (especially in the unusual knop) seem likely to have been made by the same hand or in the same individualistic workshop. A third in the Sheffield Museum Walton collection (S1985.751) but from Shirebrook outside the study area has three mouldings above and below the bow knop which is badly corroded but was clearly very like Nos. 17 and 18. A fourth identical to Nos. 17 and 18 comes from Elderbush cave in the Peak District (Branigan and Dearne 1991, 25 No. 2.1 and Fig. 4).<sup>2</sup> A possible fifth, similar but with fatter bow moulding, repaired catchplate and bent lower bow comes from Brough-on-Humber (Wacher 1969 No. 33). Indeed, Nos 17, 18 and the Elderbush brooch might even come from the same mould (though it has not been possible to confirm this). Whether we are dealing with the products of a static or peripatetic workshop is impossible to say but the present distribution clearly indicates a range stretching along much of the east side of the south Pennines and penetrating into the Peak District. As to date the only hint is given by the Brough example (the least certain member of the group) which might be Trajanic/Hadrianic.

---

2. The author (MJD) therein interpreted the detached spring as, very unusually, of externally chorded form but the parallels must now seriously question this.

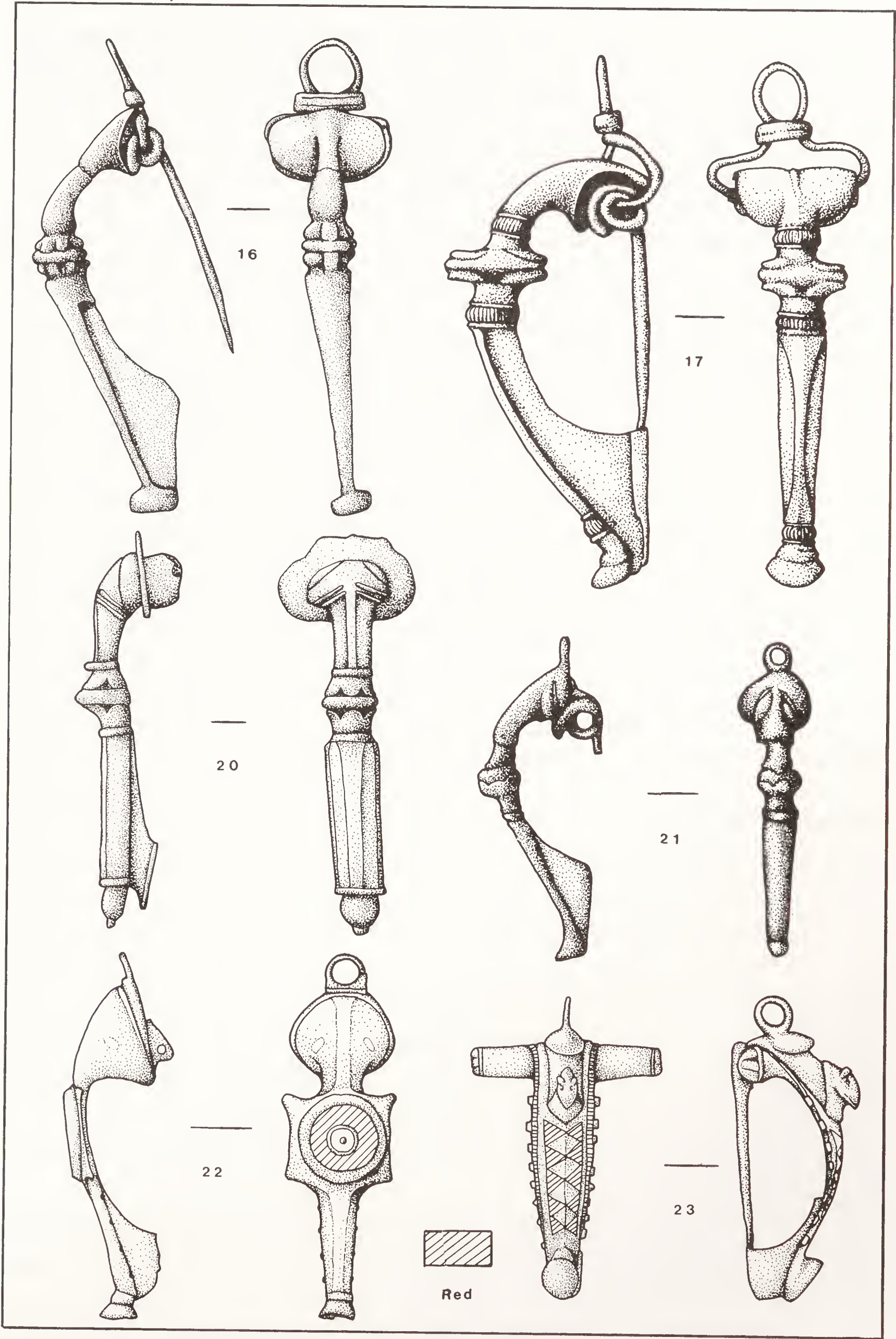


Fig. 4. Brooches 16 - 23



No. 20 is not of the 'classic' Trumpet form as its twin lug mechanism, cast suspension loop with skeumorph of the original's sheet collar and faceted white metal decorated bow indicates. An exact, better preserved parallel showing that the head plate was rectangularised with a cast suspension loop above comes from Winterton (Stead 1976, No. 29), another closely similar is from Rushmore (Pitt-Rivers 1887, pl. XIII No. 10), a third comes from Norfolk (Hattatt 1989, No. 1531), and a fourth from Vindolanda (Snape 1993, 76 No. 185) was apparently sealed by a fourth-century layer. The twin not single lug spring anchorage may well be chronologically significant (though insufficient work has yet been carried out to closely define this) and one is tempted to compare the white metal finish to that on certain knee brooches. In general terms one would expect the brooch to belong firmly in the second century before c.150/75 as the use of a white metal finish emphasises (below).

No 14 is an important addition to a smallish group of Trumpet brooches discussed by Mackreth (in Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990, cf. No. 1). They are characterised by the use of a hinged pin in a tubular moulding behind the head, moulded late Celtic decoration, an acanthus/petalled knop, probably applied white metal decoration and a wire suspension loop. Others come from Dalton Parlours (Mackreth in Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990, No. 1), County Durham (Hattatt 1985, No. 434), Traprain Law (Curle and Cree 1915, 168 and Fig. 23 No. 2), ?South Shields, from the illustration, (Allason-Jones and Milet 1984, No.3.37), and Sewell's Cave (Raistrick 1936, Fig. 1.3), though Mackreth's parallel from Settle (in Wrathmell and Nicholson *op cit*) may be discounted since, although the head is similar, it has a single lug for a spring (Branigan and Dearne 1991, 114 No.1.1). It is also clear that an enamelled hinged group exists (South Shields: Milet 1983, No. 126; Rudston: Stead 1980, 95 No. 7) and an entirely plain one (Rudston: Stead 1980 No. 8; Traprain Law: Burley 1956, catalogue No. 10; Old Penrith: Butcher 1991 No. 619; South Shields: Milet 1983 No.137; and Corbridge: Snape 1993, 40-1 Nos. 29-31 citing another from Wallsend). The northern bias of all the groups is apparent, and more particularly the bias to the east of the Pennines except for the Settle area. Moreover within the decorated unenamelled group the present example, the Dalton Parlours and Sewell's Cave brooches are also linked by the plastic moulding of 'eyes' and the unusual lower leg section (the latter also seen on one of the South Shields examples). This group may be quite influenced by the late Celtic relief and appliqué decorated sprung brooches typified by the Carmarthen brooch and centred on the Welsh Marches but spread as far as the south Pennines (Boon and Savory 1975). Yet whatever the date of these Mackreth's (in Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990) dating of the type as No. 14 here on the basis of applied white metal decoration to c.100-150/75 seems entirely likely.

Brooch No. 14 is however of equal or greater interest from a purely artistic perspective. No other Roman bow brooch to the author's (MJD) knowledge carries a clearly identifiable bird (?of prey) zoomorph on its head. It was long ago suggested that the designs on many late Celtic decorated Trumpet brooches resembled a bull's head. Be that as it may though, for the design is clearly at best an abstract based on a bull's head, the moulding of the



present brooch's 'eyes' especially suggests that a genuine and identifiable zoomorph was intended here (and if Trumpet brooches were worn 'up side down' from the traditional conventions in publication this would be entirely obvious to the wearer). The form of the 'eyes' on some other brooches cited may indeed suggest that they are derived from a design such as on the present brooch. Whether the design is more than purely decorative is not clear. Like bulls, water birds seem to have been significant in Iron Age religious iconography, but birds of prey do not seem to figure prominently and it may be best to regard the design as simply decorative.

No. 21 is close to Hull's 'Chester' type (usefully discussed by Hattatt 1987, 130). These are sprung like 'classic' Trumpet brooches but may, as here, have cast head loops (specifically Hull's type 154B; cf. Hattatt *op cit*), generally tend towards plate heads fronted by triangularised trumpets and are small and plain. The present brooch perhaps betrays a little more of its 'classic' Trumpet inheritance in its acanthus/petalled knop and head moulding than most. Hattatt (*op cit*) proposed to date 'Chester' types c.70-115 (presumably following Hull) but little citeable evidence bears on the present brooch at least. The author (MJD) suspects that brooches such as the present represent a reasonably early stage in the 'debasement' of the 'classic' Trumpet which eventually led to forms with twin lug spring anchorage and only a series of mouldings at the knop. The date bracket during which these developments were taking place was most probably c.80-c.120 and the author would suggest that this is the timeframe into which No. 21 fits.

\*22 S:1985.225 Site 5a L 5.45

Disc and Trumpet brooch. The missing sprung pin was held on an axis bar between two pierced lugs either side of the recessed back of the trumpet head. There is a suspension loop cast on above the head, which has a flattened strip down it with an applied white metal spot on either side. The mid-bow is expanded to a rectangular plate with a projecting knob at each corner. Its centre is occupied by a raised circular moulding with a central metal stud, an inner now nearly white but originally probably blue enamelled annulus and an outer red enamelled annulus. The lower bow has a flattened central strip with raised spots at the edges of the leg. The foot is broken but might have been annular.

The general type is well known and was studied by Richardson (1960), though many further examples are now known. There is limited variation, mainly in the form of the foot and the shape of the mid-bow plate. Dating evidence seems limited too. Mackreth (in Crouch and Shanks 1984, 94) cites one of c.175 from Springhead and one of the late-first century at Camerton and suggests a first century origin after c.75 but principally a second century usage. The prominent enamelling tends to reinforce this and Mackreth's further comments (in Darlington and Evans 1992, 77) about wider trumpet headed variant brooches' dating, suggesting that the Camerton example may be misdated and emphasising that the thrust of the dating is mid- and late-second century, should be noted. Richardson's (*op cit*) suggested Antonine floruit was probably not far wrong.

\*23 S:1985.799 Site 3 L 4.5

T-shaped 'Sawfish' brooch. A nearly pristine brooch retaining a white metal



finish over the majority of its surface. The pin is hinged on an axis bar in hollowed wings, the axis bar protruding from the end of one. The wings are frontally flattened, taper and are plain except for a groove at their ends. On the head and upper bow is a very well moulded dog in profile with its ears, front legs and hind quarters all identifiable and the tail forming a circular suspension loop. Below this the gently curved bow has four reserved lozenges infilled with red enamel triangles and has a central arris. The bow edges have eight small teeth on each side. The footknob is flat, circular and forward facing. The catchplate is short but wide.

This is a well known midlands type with a few variations in the form of the wing decoration, head mouldings, bow decoration and foot; though whether Mackreth (1985, 143) is right to assign it to one workshop tradition and its copyists remains to be seen. The dog profile moulding here is particularly fine and certainly better than the example from Templeborough (May 1922, XIV No. 4). The dating of this Headstud related type has recently been re-assessed by Mackreth (1990 No. 3) based on the examples from the Lunt (Hobley 1973, 65-9) in a pit of pre-75, or perhaps from the brooches included rather later according to Mackreth's re-assessment; from Wroxeter (Atkinson 1942, 203 No. H16 and a close parallel for the present brooch) first-century (with further parallels); from Newstead (Curle 1911, 323, pl. 86 No. 23) pre-80; from Wall (Gould 1967, 15 and Fig. 7 No. 2) Neronian; and from Broxtowe (cf. Mackreth op cit) not much later than c.70. From this evidence he suggests a date of c.60-85 with a possibility that some continued in use to c.100. Presumably the Crundale example (cf. Mackreth 1985, 143 assigning it to c.50-75) and certainly that from Carlisle of c.78/9 - 84/5 (Snape 1993, 13 and 89, No. 254.2) can be called on in support of this, though whether the example of 105-115 from Verulamium (Frere 1972, 116) cited in previous discussions by Mackreth is to be regarded as residual is not clear. At least for developed specimens as the present a date in the last quarter of the first century seems likely, the group's inception perhaps being earlier (at least c.70) while its demise perhaps lies very broadly at the end of the century.

\*24 S:1985.801 Site 1 L 5.5

Headstud brooch. An unusually well preserved example of the riveted in headstud type, the headstud rivet rarely being preserved and only in one other case known to the author (MJD) does the setting remain (cf. Mackreth 1985a, 289). The broken hinged pin is held on an axis bar in cast semi-tubular wings. In to their ends are tucked the ends of a swiveling wire suspension loop clamped with a cast rectangular collar with a rectangular perforation for the loop. The front of the collar has a red enamel rectangle with reserved triangles at its ends and three blue ?spots (probably intended as lozenges). It is prevented from slipping forward by a crest on top of the head with a groove along its top. The flattened fronts of the wings have two ridges at their ends and a central enamelled panel formed of a blue central lozenge, blue triangles above and below and red infilling triangles. The well and continuously curved bow has a highly domed red ?paste setting in a deep cup with a raised margin and a peak at its front. It is evidently held in place by a stud whose stub is visible at the back of the bow. Below the stud the bow is stepped with two central grooves. The footknob, below two cross-mouldings, is circular and recessed underneath for a lost stud, the rivet of which would have projected from a hole on

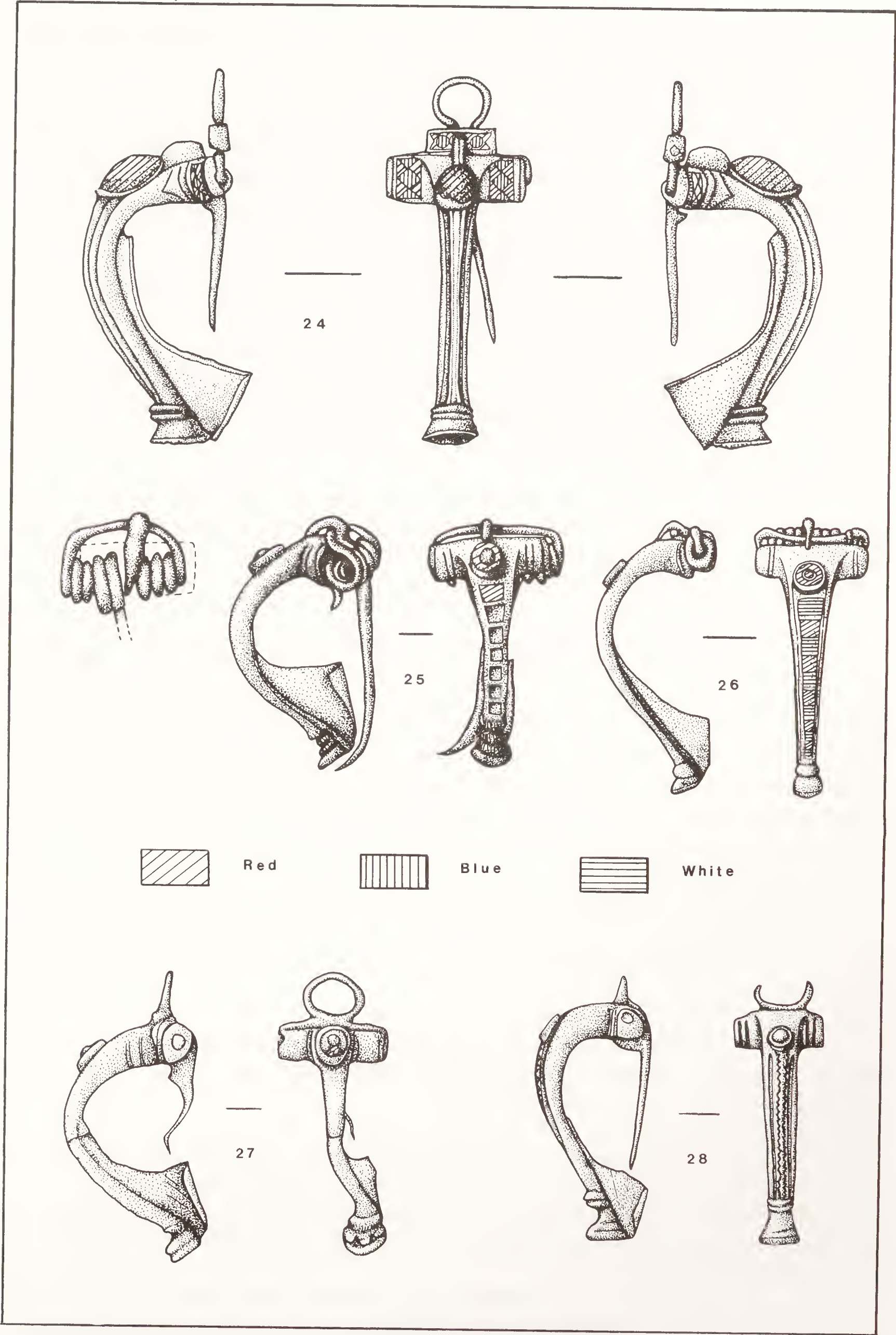


Fig. 5. Brooches 24 - 28



one side of the catchplate. The catchplate continues as a flange up the back of the bow with a ridge on the outer edge of both faces.

\*25 R:A1980.7 Site 10 L 3.7

Headstud brooch. The brooch originally had a sprung pin with an external chord, the axis bar held by a pierced lug behind the head and the chord by a forward facing hook forming a continuation of the lug moulding. The chord and much of the spring remain but the latter now serves to hold a replacement pin formed of thicker wire wound twice round the axis bar. The new pin is longer than the brooch and may never have functioned, having been attached on the wrong side of the brooch for the catchplate turnover. Its end is bent to fit below the brooch's foot. The wings are stepped back from the bow and the chord hook runs forward as far as a cast stud on the head which has an annular recess retaining traces of red enamel. The bow describes a tight and projecting curve and is decorated with seven rectangular rebates, all now empty except for red enamel in the top one. The foot is of four circular elements, the upper three beaded.

\*26 R:A1993.35 Site 6 L 4.1

As the last but unrepaired, with a more normal headstud profile and three element unbeaded foot. The corroded wings might also have been stepped and the stud has an additional central red cell. The bow enamel survives better and is alternatively red and, now at least, white.

\*27 S:l 985.626 Site 3a L 4.26

Headstud brooch. The hinged pin is held on an axis bar in tubular sub-rectangular sectioned wings which taper a little towards the ends and have two grooves. There is a cast suspension loop above the head. One groove may retain traces of red enamel. The well curved plain bow has a cast stud with central nipple and annular recess retaining traces of red enamel. The large circular footknob has petalling on its upper surface and a small cross-moulding above it. The catchplate is deep and runs at an angle up to well above the mid-bow. The brooch has been broken across the mid-bow and catchplate and repaired in antiquity.

\*28 S:1985.627 Site 3a L 3.95

Headstud brooch. Similar to the last but with ridges instead of grooves on the wings, a cast line of poorly defined ?lozenges between grooves on the front of the bow, a plain foot with two groove-separated mouldings above a flute, and no traces of enamel.

\*29 S:1985.227 Site 5a L 3.85

Headstud brooch Again similar with a plinth below the chain loop, two ridges on the wings, the remains of a central groove down the bow, and a circular three element foot knob.

30 S:1985.802 Site 1 L 3.9

Headstud brooch fragment. Lower bow and foot of a brooch with a wide central ridge down the bow, splayed at the bottom, and a circular three element foot. Underneath the foot is a red annulus surrounding a blue enamel spot. The catchplate is largely lost but rose from the footknob and continued well up the bow.

31 S:1985.704 Site 9 L 3.2

Headstud brooch fragment. Similar to the last with a plain and eroded bow and circular footknob, its underside enamelled as in the last, but missing the centre spot's enamel.

## 32 R:A1993.34 Site 9 L 3.1

Headstud brooch. A very corroded and damaged small brooch, lacking pin mechanism, one wing and all but a vestige of the foot. The wings were apparently hollow and the pin ?hinged. The wings were plain and swept back. The tightly curved bow has a cast stud on the head and a central groove.

True Headstud brooches (as opposed to Thealby Mine and other variants discussed below) appear to have begun in a sprung form with a forward facing wire hook (held by the headstud) to secure the external chord and a loose wire suspension loop with a collar. They were perhaps a development of Colchester type sprung brooches of c.60/5 to 75-90/5 or earlier, examples of which have been noted by Mackreth (in Darlington and Evans 1992, 76; Mackreth 1990 No. 2) without the headstud (see however further below in the discussion of Thealby Mine types). The stud soon became decorative and the chord held by a cast loop. Subsequently a hinged form appeared, the cast loop disappearing as the suspension loop with its collar became integrally cast (see further e.g. Snape 1993, 14-15).

Nos. 25 and 26 are typologically of the earliest phase after the stud has ceased to be functional and their pattern of alternating, usually but not always red and white enamel blocks on the bow with grooved wings is typical. Many could be cited including Prestatyn (Mackreth 1989, Fig. 38 No 15 with discussion confused by misprints); Dalnotter Estate, Lanarkshire (MacGregor 1976, Fig. 5 No 3); Kingsholm, London and unprovenanced (Painter and Sax 1970, Nos. 1-5 and 8); Owmbly (Hattatt 1982, No. 33); Old Ford (Mills 1984, No. 3) and the previously eponymous Lamberton Moor pair (e.g. Robertson 1970, Fig. 10.5). The pattern's early date is demonstrated by a broken example in a pre-Flavian context at Mancetter (Scott 1981, 20 No. 7) and indeed this is one of the earliest developed Headstuds published. Another apparently late-first century or earlier brooch, though its pin fixing is not made clear, is from Wall (Gould 1963-4, Fig. 18 No. 3) while Mackreth (1990, 108) cites a related and similarly decorated brooch in the Sawfish/Headstud group from a Neronian context at Kinvaston. How long the conjunction of alternating enamel block decoration with sprung pin mechanisms lasted is not entirely clear. One from Tripontium (Cameron and Lucas 1971-3 No. 8) has a (?mid) second-century context but may be typologically earlier and the decorative scheme continues through an ?intermediate sprung/hinged example of 75-90 from Richborough (Bushe-Fox 1949, 114 No. 36 and cf. Mackreth 1989), another similar from Verulamium (Frere 1984, 28) lost 130-150, a ?sprung example repaired with a hinged pin from near Doncaster (Hattatt 1987, No. 944), a hinged example cast to appear as if it has a sprung pin from Wall (Hattatt 1987, No. 942) into true hinged brooches as at Newstead (Curle 1911, pl. LXXXVI Nos. 21-2) and Wall (Round 1990-1, No. 8 (before ?150/60 but anyway probably residual)). On balance the mechanism and decoration suggest that a Flavian or slightly earlier date might be most appropriate for Nos. 25-6, but the sprung and hinged versions probably ran concurrently from the late first century onwards and may allow a later date.

The rest of the present collection are hinged brooches. Clearly the hinge appeared on Headstuds in the later-first century, thus one similar to all but



No. 24 (but with the more familiar enamelled lozenge and triangle decorated bow) from Chelmsford is before 100 (Wickenden 1992, No. 38.24); one from Cologne was in a grave with a Trajanic coin (Exner 1939, 73, Taf.1.I.1); and one presumably in the Headstud family at Doncaster was deposited c.80-90 (Buckland and Magilton 1986, fig. 19 No. 13). Much the same pattern of dating was long ago discerned for the often complementary imitation cast suspension loop collar (Hull 1967, 42). Leaving aside for a moment No. 24 we have three decoratively distinguished hinged types: No. 28 has reserved metal lozenges on the bow; Nos. 29 and 32 have a groove on the bow; and No. 27, matched in decoration by fragments Nos. 30 and 31, have a plain bow, in one case with a wide ridge. The first is perhaps most characteristic of areas south of the Pennines and more often has bounding enamelled triangles. Yet the use of reserved not enamelled lozengiform ornament need have no chronological significance and is not especially notable. The prevalence of undecorated or only grooved bows is however interesting.

Most Headstuds excepting the type as No. 24 have an enamelled or moulded bow but a number exist with an entirely plain bow and sprung or hinged pins (e.g. Richborough: Bushe-Fox 1949, 114 No. 36, one of a pair; Uley: Butcher 1993, Fig. 124 No. 6; Adel, Grimsby and the Wall near Newcastle: Hattatt 1985, Nos. 418-20; Kirkby Stephen, Cumbria: Hattatt 1989, No. 1524; Monyash and Elton Moor (Derbyshire), Lowick (Northumberland) and Kirkby Thore: Painter and Sax 1970, Nos. 7, 10, 15 and 16; S. Ferriby: Sheppard 1907, pl. XXVI No. 1 citing another from Doncaster; and Victoria and Albert Caves, Settle: Dawkins 1874, frontispiece No. 5 and cf. Branigan and Dearne 1991, 109f No. 4.8). Bows decorated but only with grooves are much rarer, though a few have a central ridge (near Cirencester: Hattatt 1987, No. 941; Whitton: Webster in Jarrett and Wrathmell 1981, 171 No. 16 citing three more from Chepstow, Caerwent and Usk; and Lechlade: Hattatt 1987, No. 940, though this really belongs with brooches as No. 24). Again no chronological significance is discernable, or to be expected, rather the relative lack of decoration is likely to be of geographical significance or to reflect the quality of the brooches. The groove decorated examples in particular might well be 'cheap' brooches rendering the common line of enamelled or reserved lozenges simply as a line bordered by grooves; not such a great leap from debased reserved lozenge decorated examples as Hattatt (1989) No. 1523, or indeed No. 28 here, many similar to which could be cited, especially Snape (1993, 73 No. 176) from Vindolanda. The lesser incidence of enamelling on northern Headstuds has been noted before (e.g. Allason-Jones in Casey, Davies and Evans 1993, 166) but it is particularly interesting to find such a marked lack of enamelling in an area which also represents part of the region with which certain unenamelled Headstud derivatives like the Thealby Mine type (below) are particularly associated. Even if this link is accepted however it helps little in dating Nos. 27-31. Broadly they could lie anywhere from the inception of the hinged Headstud in the later-first century to the type's inexact dated demise no earlier than c.150/75 and perhaps a little later. A slightly more restricted time frame is probably indicated for No. 24 which belongs to a subgroup with enamelled wings and deep cones on the head with riveted studs



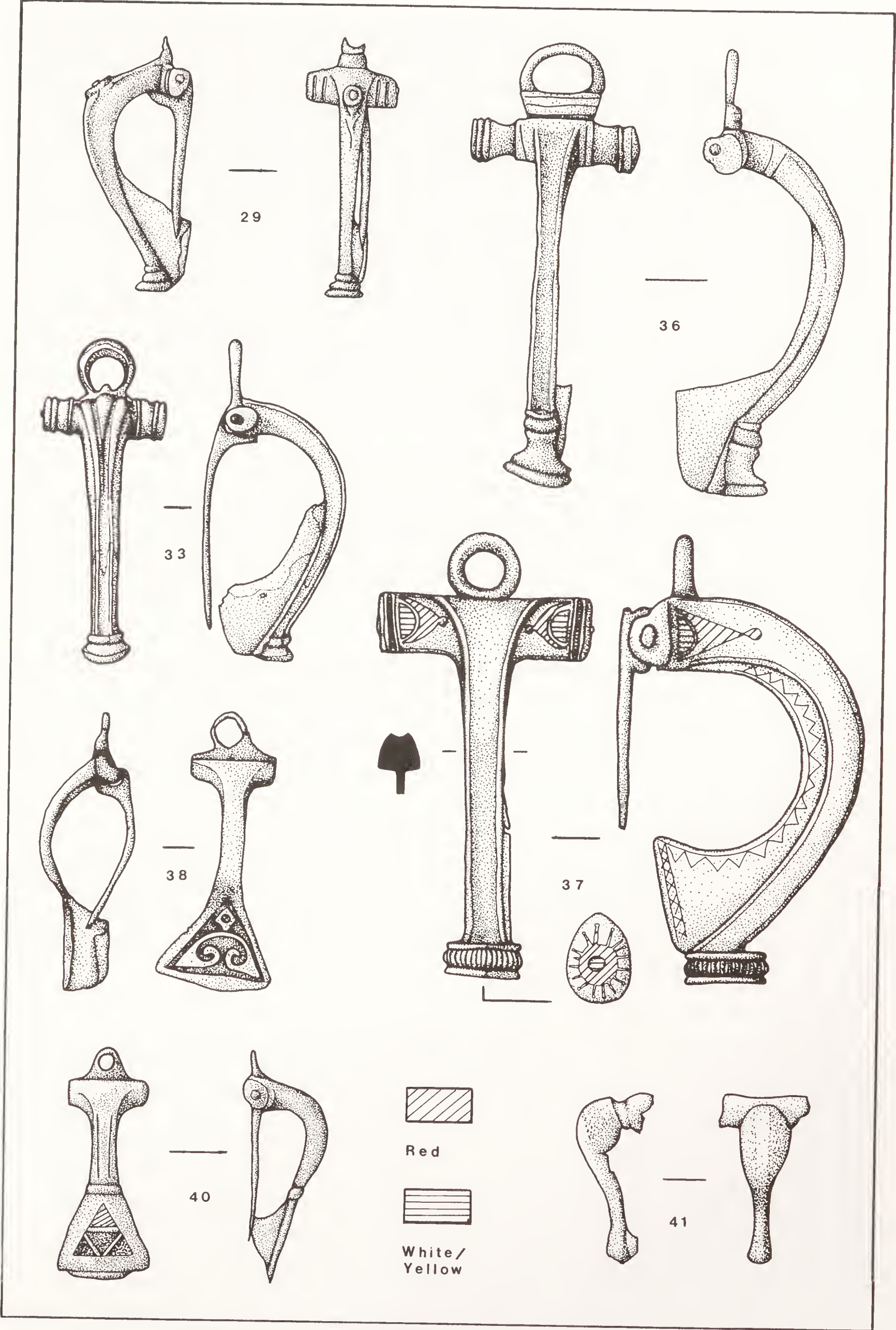


Fig. 6. Brooches 29 - 41



holding settings and often with a corresponding stud in the foot and wire suspension loop stopped by a crest. As noted above they are also the only recognisable sub-type of true Headstuds not usually enamelled on the bow. Mackreth (1985a, 289) discussing one from Derby (unstratified) suggests that they were made in the first half of the second century with examples surviving to c.175 and cites parallels from after the early-second century and from the third century (cf. also Mackreth 1990 No. 6). His view is to be endorsed but further evidence is required. One suspects that in construction and enamelled elaboration they were 'top of the range' brooches.

Finally it is also worth noting the occurrence of the especially curved profiles of Nos. 25 and 32. The functional observation by Mackreth (in Bramwell et al 1983, 59; in lecture) that penannular brooches' especially humped pins in northern England may be related to the wearing of thicker garments might be applicable here as well.

\*33 S:1985.612 Site 3 L 4.85

Headstud Variant brooch. The pin is hinged on an axis bar in tubular wings which are short with three small ridges on each. There is a cast suspension loop above the head with a triangular projection at its base. The tapered bow has a continuous curve similar to that of Headstud brooches, with a central tapered groove bounded by ridges and a third short ridge in the centre of the groove at the top. The foot is circular, of two mouldings, the lower larger, and flat underneath.

34 RA1993.23 Site 6 L 4.6

As the last but with broken suspension loop, three extra mouldings above the foot, only one ridge on the wings and lacking the third bow ridge.

35 RA1993.28 Site 11 L 4.9

Again similar but with single, groove-bounded reels and a terminal ridge on the wings.

\*36 S:1985.668 Site 9 L 6.6

Headstud Variant brooch. The pin was hinged as on No. 33. The wings have a deep central flute, three small ridges at the ends and a small groove near the bow. Above the head is a cast suspension loop on a podium with three horizontal grooves, imitating the collar of a wire suspension loop. The tapered bow is continuously curved with a deep, wide central groove. The foot is as No. 33's but with three cross-mouldings above, separated from it by a flute.

\*37 S:1985.800 Site 3 L 6.6

Headstud Variant brooch. A large, heavy thick set brooch with a copper alloy hinged pin on an iron axis bar in a semi-tubular moulding behind the wings. There is a cast suspension loop above the head. The wings are flattened frontally and curve into the sides of the bow. The ends of the wings are recessed with a groove at the very end and a raised bead row. The main part of the wings have a large enamelled red triangle with a red enamelled spot at the apex, and a plano-convex white or yellow enamelled cell at the base. The heavy, deeply and continuously curved sub-trapezoidal sectioned bow has a wide, shallow groove down it with slight ridges at its edges and incised lines down the rear edges of the bow which continue along the lower margins of the wings. The large foot is circular but pointed at the front and beaded between two raised lines. Underneath there is a red enamelled, bead-ended starburst with a central white or yellow enamel spot. The catchplate rises from the



footknob, is deep and continues as a flange up the back of the bow to below the head. It has incised lines at its outer margins on both faces with an incised zig-zag, becoming a cross-hatching adjacent to the groove on the outer face.

Nos. 33-7 are all clearly akin to Headstuds but represent three identifiable variations from the standard Headstud pattern, albeit numerically restricted and perhaps quite localised variations. All here lack the eponymous headstud but this alone should not be taken as typologically significant, especially as all are hinged brooches and cannot have been contemporary with Headstuds on which the stud was functional. Indeed, there are representatives of these variant groups which carry a stud (below) and a good number of standard Headstud brooches without a stud (eg. Richborough: Bushe-Fox 1949, pl. XXVIII No 37; Newstead: Curle 1911, pl. LXXVI No. 17; Kirkby Thore: Painter and Sax 1970, No. 21; Sidbury: Mackreth in Darlington and Evans 1992, Fig. 38.2; South Shields: Allason-Jones and Miket 1984, Nos. 3.66 and 3.69-3.71; Wall: Round 1990-1, No. 1). A few of these latter might be Headstud progenitors (cf. Mackreth in Darlington and Evans 1992, 76) like perhaps the oft cited Honley brooch (Richmond 1925) but others seem likely to be just decoratively plain. Hull's apparent inclusion of all Headstud-like brooches without a stud in the 'Thealby Mine' group (cf. Hattatt 1985, 105) does not draw a typologically useful distinction. Rather the Headstud Variant forms outlined here differ in broader decorative treatment and also in most cases in their proportions.

The first group are Thealby Mine brooches, not in the sense in which the term was used by Hull (and so not including most if not all of Allason-Jones and Miket 1984, Nos. 3.69-3.71; Miket 1983, No. 165; or Snape 1993, 73 Nos. 177-8, all of which Snape at least (*op cit*, *passim*) assigns to the groups,) but in the sense of the specific relatively small, hinged brooch with a Headstud profile and foot but ribbed bow and cast suspension loop often with a triangular tab in it of which Nos. 33-5 are typical and which for clarity is subsequently referred to here as the Thealby Mine A type. These are the most common of the three groups defined here but are still relatively rare. One from Newstead (Curle 1911, 323 and pl. XXXVI No. 18) is probably the most northerly and those from Dowkerbottom Hole, Craven (eg. Branigan and Dearne 1992, Fig. A6 No. 23) and nearby Attermire Cave (to be published) the most westerly. Most however concentrate in the Peak District, Lincolnshire and South Yorkshire: e.g. Elton (British Museum No. 1873.6-2.50), Scarcliffe Park (Lane 1973, Fig. 20b), Templeborough (May 1922, pl. XIV No. 5), Poole's Cavern (Bramwell et al 1983, Fig. 3.2), Thealby Mine (Dudley 1949, 200 and Fig. 52 No. 6), and unprovenanced (Hattatt 1987, No. 945). Their origins seem to lie in developments of the Headstud as a studless Headstud brooch from Sidbury (Mackreth in Darlington and Evans 1992, Fig. 8.2) with a tab inside the suspension loop as on many Thealby Mine A brooches suggests and further brooches with some affinity to the Thealby Mine A type can be noted amongst some other studless Headstuds (e.g. E. Yorks: Hattatt 1989, No. 1527; Lower Hacheston, Suffolk: Hattatt 1985, No. 428; Vindolanda: Snape 1993, 73 No. 178).

The second, much less numerous, group might be referred to as Grooved



Bow brooches. They are much like the Thealby Mine A type but larger, without the triangular tab in the suspension loop and are mainly marked out by having a deep groove the width and length of the bow. As well as No. 36 here there are examples from Chesterfield (Ellis 1989, No. 6), ? Scarcliffe Park (Lane 1973, Fig. 20a) from the illustration, surprisingly Dorset (Hattatt 1987, No. 946, citing another from York), and variant with a wavy line in the groove from Suffolk (Hattatt 1985, No. 429) and with headstuds from Doncaster (Buckland 1986, Fig. 15), Thetford (Hattatt 1982, No. 35) and Wall (Mackreth 1981-2, No. 5).

Thirdly a very small dispersed group of brooches, sprung or hinged, with or without studs but all heavy set and usually decorated in a late Celtic style exists. It is the least clearly differentiated from standard Headstuds (though it is interesting to note that No. 37 here has a grooved bow much like the preceding group) and seems to consist only of No. 37 here, brooches from Chester's and Corbridge (MacGregor 1976, Fig. 5.4 and 5.5), the Victoria and Albert Caves, Settle (eg. Branigan and Dearne 1992, Fig. A6 No. 26; Painter and Sax 1970, No. 12, assigning it to Dowkerbottom Hole) and, perhaps Bruce (1867, 431) centre bottom of figure (though the drawing is terribly inadequate), and another from Corbridge (Snape 1993, 35 No. 11).

The last group, of which none are dated but which may given the enamelling and riveted in headstuds of some, be of the first half of the second century, probably represent particularly expensive brooches. One suspects that they were the products of craftsmen both familiar with late Celtic decorative traditions and prepared to experiment with the Headstud form. The Thealby Mine A and Grooved Bow types are in contrast plainer and often smaller than most Headstuds and represent two particular styles within the wider 'family' of usually studless and relatively plain Headstud Variants to be found especially east of the Pennines. Indeed, one wonders whether most of the Grooved Bow if not Thealby Mine A brooches were not made in a relatively few workshops, the former perhaps mainly in South Yorkshire. Neither is unfortunately at all well dated. For the Thealby Mine A type the Poole's Cavern example is from a cave where the material is principally second century (Branigan and Dearne 1991, 44ff) and Mackreth (in Bramwell et al 1983) notes that the Newstead brooch may belong to an early part of the range c.80-180. Butcher (in Ellis 1989, 86) seems to be referring to general Headstud dating in discussing the (unstratified) Chesterfield Grooved Bow brooch, but the Doncaster example is second-century in date. This limited evidence though serves to support a date mainly in the second century after the hinged Headstud with a cast suspension loop had developed. A floruit for both types within the range c.100 or a little earlier to ?c.150 appears likely.

\*38 S:1985.667 Site 9 L 4.15

Bow and Fantail brooch. The pin is hinged on an axis bar in a tubular moulding behind the short, rectangular wings. There is a cast suspension loop above the splayed, rectangularised head. The narrow and well curved bow has a step back to a flat, fan-tailed lower leg with a (now) slightly curved lower edge. This carries a reserved broken-backed scroll (or 'Gallic leaves') with an annular device touching its top within a recessed panel with traces of ?blue enamel. The brooch is badly corroded.

## 39 R:A1993.15 Site 11 L 4.2

Nearly identical to the last but with red enamel field and the device above the scroll a lozenge with a line running up from it to the original form on No. 38 now altered by corrosion). The bow is now crushed flat.

## \*40 R:A1993.32 Site 10 L 3.5

Again similar but with two grooves down the bow, a ridge between it and the leg and possible traces of red enamel on one wing (though this might be a corrosion product). The leg has a design of three triangles surrounding a fourth, inverted, triangle. The upper has red enamel traces, the reversed triangle the same, or again corrosion products, and the others are now empty.

The Bow and Fantail type was widespread (making Mackreth's (1971-3, 131) suggestion of a single workshop source unlikely) if never especially common. It varies mainly in the lower leg decoration. The pattern of Nos. 38-9, with slight variations, is common, eg. Corbridge (Foster and Knowles 1911, Fig. 28); Owmbly, Lincs. (Hattatt 1987, No. 815); Wickham (British Museum 1958, Fig. 11 No. 34); Thistleton (Butcher 1991, No. 616 noting further examples from Kirkby Lathorpe and Aldborough); Sleaford (Lincs. Architect. and Arch. Soc. Reports and Papers N.S.10 (1964), 67); and Tripontium (Mackreth 1971-3, 131). That of No. 40 is rarer but not unknown, e.g. Hattatt (1987, Nos. 817-8) both from the Wilts/Dorset border but with the fourth (reversed) triangle missing. Webster (1992, No. 4) discussing a badly damaged brooch probably not too far removed from Nos. 38-9 has briefly reviewed the possible genesis of the type from Rosette brooches (and noted further examples with various leg designs; for which see also Hattatt (1989, fig. 174), though others also exist). Mackreth's (1971/3, 131) view that there was also a Colchester derivative input to the parentage is however probably still valid. Butcher (1991, 181) has suggested a typological date in the second century which would suit the standardised enamelled patterns as here, but actual dated examples are limited: the Richborough brooch was with early second century pottery, and the Old Penrith example is (?before) some point in the first half of the third century. However, even if the fully developed form, as here, is second century as is likely Mackreth's (1971/3, 131) suggestion of a date c.75-125 (or perhaps better 75-150?) might better suit the full range of the type, perhaps with the Waddon Hill brooch cited by Webster (1992, No. 4) as its ancestor. Otherwise there is a chronological gap to bridge between Rosettes and Bow and Fantails. A fuller study of the Rosette, Aesica, Wing and Fantail, Maxey type, Bow and Fantail and perhaps Reversed Fantail type (to use the nomenclature of e.g. Hattatt (1989)) is beyond the scope of a finds report but some if not all are typologically linked and a fuller understanding of how, might help considerably in dating individual brooches.

## \*41 S:1985.226 Site 5a L 2.55

Knee brooch. The missing sprung pin was held on an axis bar located between the pierced ends of the narrow, frontally curved head. The cabriole leg or baluster shaped bow is hollowed at the back in its upper part, has a broad central flattened strip down its length and expands a little at the foot.

## \*42 R:A1981.31 Site 10 L 2.5

Knee brooch. Well preserved with a sprung pin held in hollowed wings on an



axis bar anchored in pierced circular plates at either end. In front of the wings is a crescentic head to a hollow cabriole leg or baluster shaped bow with an expanded foot and narrow, deep catchplate.

\*43 R:A1981.32 Site 10 L 2.75

Knee brooch. Head and most of the bow of a brooch retaining a white metal finish. The sprung pin is held on an axis bar between pierced circular end plates to hollowed cylindrical wings. The bow is a highly curved plate with a frontal ridge near the head and larger frontal and rear ridges at the base of the curve below which the profile straightens. The leg would have ended in a flat horizontal foot with a flat rearward catchplate, an angled notch holding the pin.

Knee brooches, essentially continental but inspiring more insular developments, are not the commonest of types found in Britain and their dating is often hindered by the lack of examples (eg. Mackreth in Gregory 1969; Mackreth 1990, 111). Nos. 41 and 42 are probably British types and would have carried applied white metal decoration which, with enamelling, characterises many British products with box-like heads as here (cf. Mackreth in Bramwell et al 1983, 55). The cabriole leg or baluster bow, with variations in the exact form of the head and bow proportions, is quite common amongst British knee finds. No. 43 shares the spring anchorage of Nos. 41-2 but is perhaps a less common form. Nevertheless one may cite numbers of parallels showing its wide distribution: Bingham (Gregory 1969, No. 1 ); Woodeaton (Kirk 1949, 11 No. 21 and Fig. 2.10); Corbridge (Knowles and Foster 1909, type 4, cf. Snape 1993, 48 Nos. 62-3 with British and continental parallels); Manchester (Collingwood 1969, No. 85); Chelmsford (Drury 1988, 145 No. 5); Wenhaston (Martin, Pendleton and Plouviez 1989, fig. 25); Vindolanda, Carlisle, Chesters, Great Chesters and Milecastle 40 (Snape 1993, 77 No. 195; 92 No. 267; 114 Nos. A262-3; 117 No. A374; 119 No. A409); and (slightly variant) Dorset (Hattatt 1987, No. 1228) and Brough-on-Humber (Wacher 1969, 93 No. 35). A closely related type with fully S-shaped bow also exists, e.g. Brough-on-Humber (Wacher 1969, No. 35), Vindolanda and Carlisle (Snape 1993, 77 No. 196 and 92 No. 267.1). Mackreth (in Bramwell et al 1983) discussing a brooch from Poole's Cavern, Derbyshire (where the pottery seems to end with late second/early third century vessels and the latest coin known is of A. Pius; Branigan and Dearne 1991, 43ff) essentially of the form of Nos. 41-2 could cite only two dated examples, from Gadebridge Park (Neal 1974, 127 and Fig. 44.25, late second/early third century) and Wroxeter (Bushe-Fox 1914, 13 and Fig. 4.6; before c.130/150?) from which he suggested a production and use date of c.125-200. Drury (1988, microfiche 1, 37) citing Bohme's conclusions from the German evidence differs a little in dating cylindrical headed types in and after the second half of the second century. For a fuller review of the continental evidence, also citing a brooch from Leicester conceivably as late as 220 see Mackreth (1990, 111). A mid-to-late Antonine example from Carlisle (Snape 1993, 18) may also be noted. An inception date before c.150 seems to be indicated but how far before still seems in doubt and the date at which the type passed out of use is certainly not reliably established, though it is doubtless c.200 or later. The type represented by No. 43 may well share this inexact dating. The Chelmsford example comes

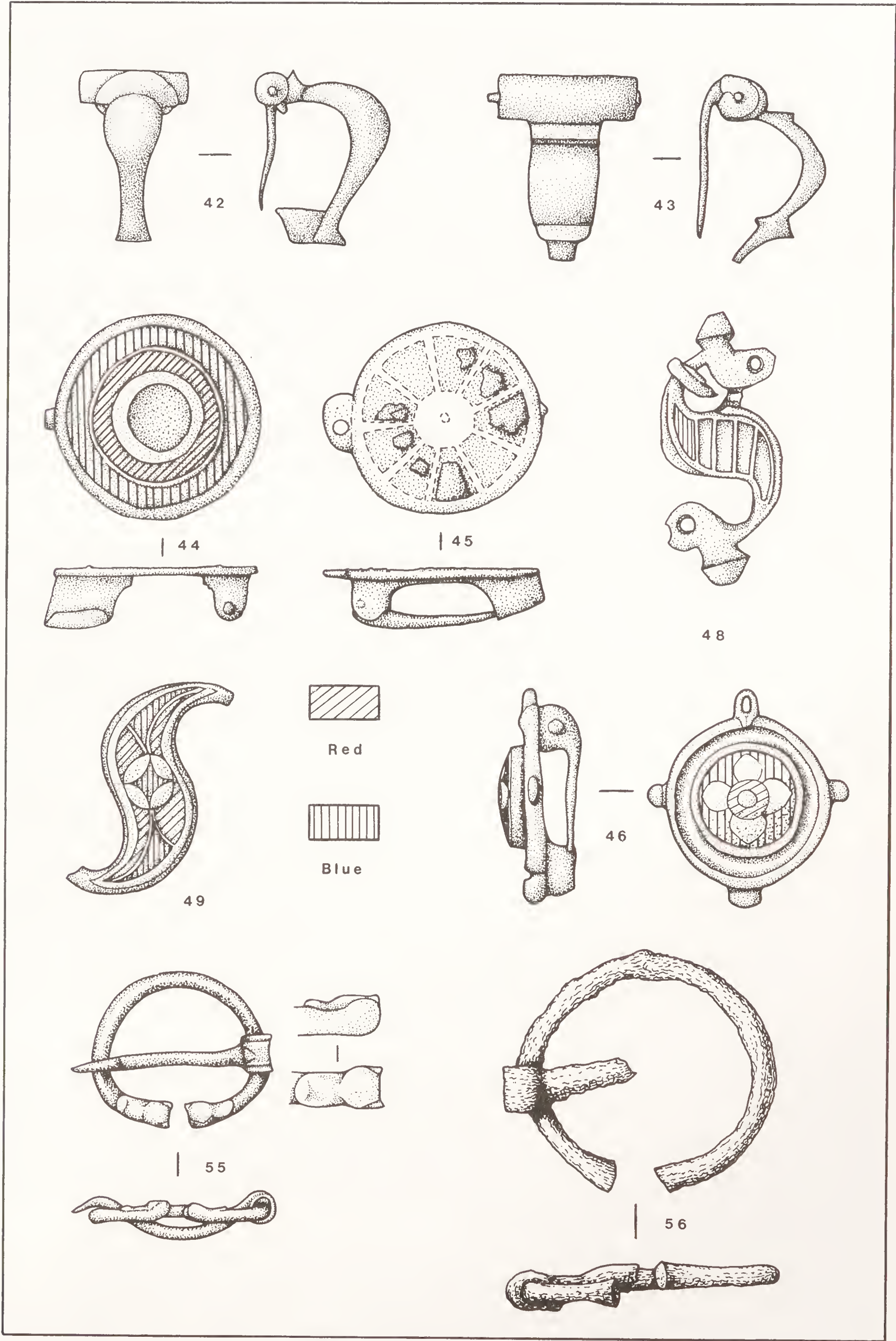


Fig. 7. Brooches 42 - 56



from a pit of c.300/20-410/20, one from Lydney (Wheeler 1932, 12.21) from a post-Roman context but mainly with third/fourth-century material and a third from Carlisle from a third or early fourth century level (Snape 1993, 19). The evidence is slim, and residuality a constant danger but the type may well have survived into the third century.

\*44 S:1985.624 Site 3a Di 3.05

Circular Plate brooch. The pin has a bilateral spring on a single pierced lug. The circular plate has a central, empty, circular recess and two concentric recessed zones retaining red and blue enamel respectively.

This general pattern of British circular plate brooch is common, variations in size, numbers of enamelled zones and presence or absence of metal spots in one or more of them (in some cases with applied white metal trim) probably having no chronological significance. In general plate brooches are predominately second-century with the possibility that some were still in use in the early third century and greater chronological precision is probably not obtainable (cf. Mackreth in Bramwell et al 1983, 59 for more detailed dating evidence; and Butcher 1993, No. 4).

\*45 S:1985.689 Site 13 Di 2.85

Moulded Circular Plate brooch. The pin is hinged on an axis bar between two pierced lugs. Although now damaged and corroded the original form of the decoration on the front is clear. There was a flat circular centre with a central punch mark, around which lay nine raised apex truncated triangles, most of which are largely lost but the shapes remain as blanks in a white metal surface which covers the brooch. The effect is thus of 'recessed' radiating strips between the raised blocks leading to a plain flat rim. There is a circular suspension loop on the edge above the hinge.

This brooch seems to be unparalleled. The inspiration for the decoration is presumably the 'starburst' which occurs in various, more normally enamelled circular and umbonate plate brooches and perhaps specifically that on a few brooches with central circular and peripheral enamelled triangular cells (e.g. Hattatt 1982, No. 129 from Thetford). Unenamelled circular brooches with moulded decoration are also well recognised but none with a starburst pattern is known to the author (MJD); an alternative genesis from so-called wheel brooches which may have had religious significance ought also to be considered though. Again a second century date seems to be likely.

\*46 R:A1993.26 Site 6 Di 2.4

Circular Plate brooch. The extant pin is hinged between two pierced lugs below a suspension loop which is balanced by three peripheral lugs. Within a raised margin there is a wide groove and a raised, slightly umbonate centre. The centre contains a central red enamelled annulus from which project four symmetrical, reserved, lozengiform leaves or petals on a blue enamel ground. There are traces of a white metal finish to the unenamelled surface.

47 R:A1993.21 Site 11 Di 2.5

Identical to the last except for being a fraction larger and slightly less well preserved.

An exact parallel (only 1 mm smaller than No. 46) comes from Eaton Socon, Beds. (Wingfield 1991 No. 6) and a second (of precisely the same size

as No. 47) with the petals/leaves set at 45° to the lug orientation is known from Blandford, Dorset (Hattatt 1985, No. 538a). The findspots provide an interesting comment on the distribution of a manufacturer's products, for there can be little doubt that this unusual design originated in all cases in one 'workshop', further suggestions of this being provided by the close correlation in the brooches' diameters, globulous lugs and large, flattened pin heads. How far Hattatt's (1987, 184) suggested line of development from certain umbonate starburst' brooches is valid or necessary may be doubted but the only slightly different Hattatt (1987, No. 1066) from Northants must surely again be from the same workshop. More distantly related are a variety of usually umbonate enamelled brooches with something like leaves or petals in their centres, some of which Hattatt would regard as the present type's ancestors but which may well just show that triangular cells on starburst brooches could all too easily be misunderstood or transformed into more vegetative forms (Hattatt 1987, Nos. 1064-5 and Hull corpus pl. 790, 5860 from Woodeaton cited therein; Bushe-Fox 1932, pl. X No. 14; Rossington Bridge (Doncaster Museum, unpublished); Carlisle (Mackreth 1990 No. 21) and Corbridge (Snape 1993, 58, No. 101) and Vindolanda (op cit, 80 No. 218)). Whatever, Mackreth (1990, 112) suggests that this group also emanated from a single workshop, though not necessarily the same one. In any event the dating for all should again be second century.

\*48 S:1985.759 Site 6 L 4.0

Dragonesque brooch. The 'heads' are flat with large, protuberant 'snouts' with circular holes near their ends (one of which is crescentic), raised, semi-conical 'ears' and without 'eyes'. One of them is linked to the body with the remains of the pin loop around its 'neck'. The body has three central rectangular cells retaining traces of decayed enamel, now at least a light yellow in colour. They are flanked by curving triangular cells, one retaining blue enamel.

\*49 S:1985.803 Site 1a L 3.0

Dragonesque brooch fragment. The 'heads' are missing. The body is a slightly raised panel enamelled with a curved edge blue lozenge in a raised metal circle with, either side, a curved triangle with two red and one blue enamelled curvilinear cells.

Dragonesque brooches are a much studied plate brooch type probably developed from S-shaped brooches formed of opposed trumpets and are distinct from true open-work plate brooches with fixed pins which sometimes take an opposed trumpet form (e.g. Butcher 1991, No. 628). That they never originally had a zoomorphic form, if indeed such zoomorphism was intended later in their development, is suggested by a fine open-work specimen from Rossington Bridge (Doncaster Museum, unpublished) in which the body is of opposed trumpets and the 'heads' more vegetative than zoomorphic. The general designs represented by Nos. 48 and 49 are both well known. No. 48 is very closely paralleled by one from Norfolk (Hattatt 1985, No. 608), and indeed one feels that if this is not from the same mould then it is at least from the same workshop. The body decoration is represented by further examples spread from London to Traprain Law (Hattatt 1987, No. 1025; Feachem 1951, Fig. 4 Nos. 19 and C1-C4; Feachem 1968, No. 50) and the head by Feachem (1951, Fig. 8 No. 38). No. 49 again has a number of parallels (Hattatt 1982, No. 155 from Humberside with the metal/enamel pattern in the central circle



reversed and a circular rabate; Feachem 1968, No. 44 from Doncaster with lozenges in the circle; Feachem 1951, Fig. 2 (nineteen more or less related brooches, particularly No. A1); Potter 1979, Fig. 84 No. 14 from Watercrock). Of the classifications made so far No. 48 is Feachem's (1951) class iv and No. 49 of class i. Kilbride-Jones's (1980) division into West and East Brigantian and Parisian styles with attendant dating conclusions should be treated with great caution and it is far from clear where the present examples would fit within this scheme. In terms of dating the inception of the type seems to belong to the mid-first century as an example, notably with entirely un-zoomorphic plain heads from a Claudio-Neronian context at Longthorpe suggests (Dannell and Wild 1987, 87 No. 8) while its demise clearly belongs to the second century, perhaps within the bracket 150-175. If there is any significance to the body decoration a late-first early-second century range might be suggested for No. 48 (Traprain Law, argued by Kilbride-Jones 1980, 174 as late-first century and noting the dating by Wheeler of one from Segontium to c.100) and a Hadrianic to Antonine one for No. 49 (Watercrock above from the phase 2 vicus which is of this range; Kilbride-Jones 1980, Fig. 55 No. 2 discussion and footnotes giving one a surprisingly exact *terminus ante quem* of 122). However, the value of the body decoration for chronology is probably at best very dubious within the purely enamelled series and the broader dating of mid-first to mid-second century or slightly later is that which should be taken as established.

50 S:1985.618 Site 3a Di 2.9

Penannular brooch. Circular sectioned hoop with bulbous terminals with single mouldings behind and a well humped, looped on pin.

51 R:A1993.30 Site 12 Di 3.0

Penannular brooch. Circular sectioned hoop with bun terminals and remains of looped on pin.

52 S:1985.705 Site 9 Di 3.5

Penannular brooch. Circular sectioned hoop with expanded blunt terminals, now worn but retaining milling. Looped on pointed pin now bent but perhaps originally humped.

\*53 R:A1981.64 Site 11 Estimated Di 1.6

Penannular brooch. Flattened, rectangular sectioned hoop beaded between marginal ridges on the upper face. The surviving terminal consists of a large bun shaped expansion with central dimple on its face in front of a smaller moulding.

54 R:A1983.1 Site 3 Di 3.0

Penannular brooch. Circular sectioned hoop with bun terminals backed by slight additional mouldings. Broken looped on pin, probably highly humped.

\*55 S:1985.794 Site 1 Maximum Di 2.6

Penannular brooch. Rectangular sectioned hoop with cast terminals imitating turned back ones, raised at the front, clenched in the centre, nicked across the front corners and slightly turned up at the back. Humped pin with a 'barrelled' wrap over decorated with two incised lines and an inverted V at the top of the pin.

\*56 S:1985.611 Site 3 Internal Di c.3.0

Iron Penannular brooch. Circular sectioned hoop now rather corroded but with slightly thickened, undecorated and blunt ended terminals. The remaining fragment of the looped on pin indicates that it was well humped.

These are mainly examples of Fowler's (1960) types A1 (Nos. 51 and presumably 53), A2 (No. 52), A3 (Nos. 50 and 54) and E (No. 55), the first three relatively common and standardised. A2s are usually characterised as having milled terminals of knobbed form rather than the continuously thickening ones on No. 52 but the difference is not great enough to be considered significant. The only real aberration is the rectangular section beaded hoop on No. 53 which is more characteristic of D and E types than A1s and the dimpled terminals on this brooch, though they appear on a few others such as a very large A3 from Sutton Common,<sup>3</sup> emphasise that it is a little unusual. Penannular dating is notoriously inexact but types A2 and A3 as conventionally designated seem to run throughout much of the Roman period and the latter at least appear in Anglo-Saxon graves (eg Fowler 1960, appendices; but see also Mackreth 1985a). Type A1 is perhaps a little less long lived within the Roman period. Type E foreshadows Dark Age zoomorphic forms and is less common than the others. It appears to belong to the fourth century (cf. examples cited in Fowler 1963, appendix), though this and its significance has been the subject of much discussion (e.g. Kilbride-Jones 1980;1980a; Savory 1956; Branigan, Dearne and Rutter 1994). The one particularly notable brooch here is No. 56 which may belong to Fowler's (1960) type A. Certain identification of iron penannulars is always difficult and the present brooch is considerably corroded. However there is little doubt that its terminals are undifferentiated from the hoop and appear to be blunt ended. They were certainly not of the bun-shaped form of the A1 type. The brooch may therefore belong to the pre-Roman Iron Age rather than the Roman.

#### B) Other Objects (Copper Alloy unless otherwise stated)

\*1 S:1985.671 Site 9 L 4.45; Button Di 2.5

Button and Loop fastener. The button is a plain circular ring 0.86cm wide of flattened section. The loop is sub-triangular and curves up and back from the top of the button then slopes forward. The meeting of the button and loop is marked by a cast ridge around the former.

\*2 S:1985.703 Site 9 L 3.25; Button Di 2.0

Ditto. The button is a hollow, circular dome with a quatrefoil pattern of raised petals. The loop is triangular and rises vertically from a short shank projecting from the back centre of the button.

\*3 R:A1981.59 Site 11 L 1.95

Ditto. The button consists of three conjoined hemispheres. From the back centre of the button a short shank projects from which rises vertically the now largely lost triangular loop.

Button and Loop fasteners, classically studied and classified by Wild (1970) are of Iron Age origin and inspiration. Their function may have been as fasteners, though exactly what they fastened is not clear, but an alternative

---

3. The author (MJD) is grateful to Dr M Parker Pearson of the Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield for showing him this brooch.



interpretation would seem to be as strap ends. The variety amongst button forms is considerable and a good number do not fit well into Wild's classification. No. 1 here though is a simple example of his type II and No. 3 a variant of his type 1. No. 2 does not really fit into the classification, though it presumably falls somewhere within the remit of his type Va. Button and Loop fasteners generally seem to run through from the late Iron Age to somewhere in the middle of the second century. Type II seems to be late first century in inception as far as present dating evidence indicates (Wild 1970, 138) with the plain Flavian-Trajanic example from Caerleon cited therein probably providing a good hint at the dating of the present example. Only one close parallel for No.3 is known to the author (Manchester: Walker 1986, Fig. 5.4 No. 31640) and is from the phase 4a fort with a ?Severan date, suggesting that it is residual if Button and Loop fasteners did indeed cease to be used in the mid-second century. No. 2, if it belongs to type Va may date anywhere between the first century B.C. and the second century A.D. (Wild 1970, 140) but a post-conquest date seems by far the most likely.

\*4 S:1985.610 Site 3 L 5.4

Tankard Handle fragment. Half of a late Celtic decorated tankard handle with a curved central section tapering to an angled circular attachment plate with two small domed rivets and a circular piercing. The central section is cast in an open work style and broken across the centre of what may have been a large open circle or more likely across the top of a swag. Below this, bounded by cast tapering edges is a formalised scroll with an annular rebate (?for enamel) at its end simulating the scroll terminal. The attachment plate rivets, surrounded by annular recesses, are clearly only decorative and a slight difference in patina suggests that they are of a different alloy to the rest of the piece.

Few repeats are to be noted in Celtic decorated tankard handles and how far classifications are valuable is uncertain, though this example would presumably be Corcoran's (1952) class 1a along with three examples from the Severn Sisters hoard (e.g. Davies and Spratling 1976, Nos. 21-3). Indeed, these parallels perhaps show something of the genesis of the mid-section decoration and attachment plate form/decoration. But the closest parallel is from Camerton (Jackson 1990, No. 120; with a companion, No.119, nearer to the style of the Severn Sisters finds). The pieces share a formalisation of more plastic patterns, more marked in the present example than at Camerton; a single nail hole in the attachment plate; and most of all formalised scroll ends with raised boss centres. Indeed, the present example can be seen as an angularised 'stretching' of the Camerton motif. Dating is very difficult. The Camerton collection's provenance is problematic but most of its contents seem to be approximately mid- to late-first century (and the Seven Sisters material is probably mid-first century; cf. also the parallels cited in Davies and Spratling 1976, 137f). This gives a strong hint that the present find should not at least be earlier than the mid-first century. One might however argue that it suggests a formalisation or devolution of Celtic motifs more likely to be associated with the later-first or early-second century.

\*5 R:A1980.1 Site 10 Maximum Internal Di 1.55

Silver finger ring. Complete and internally nearly circular with a continuously

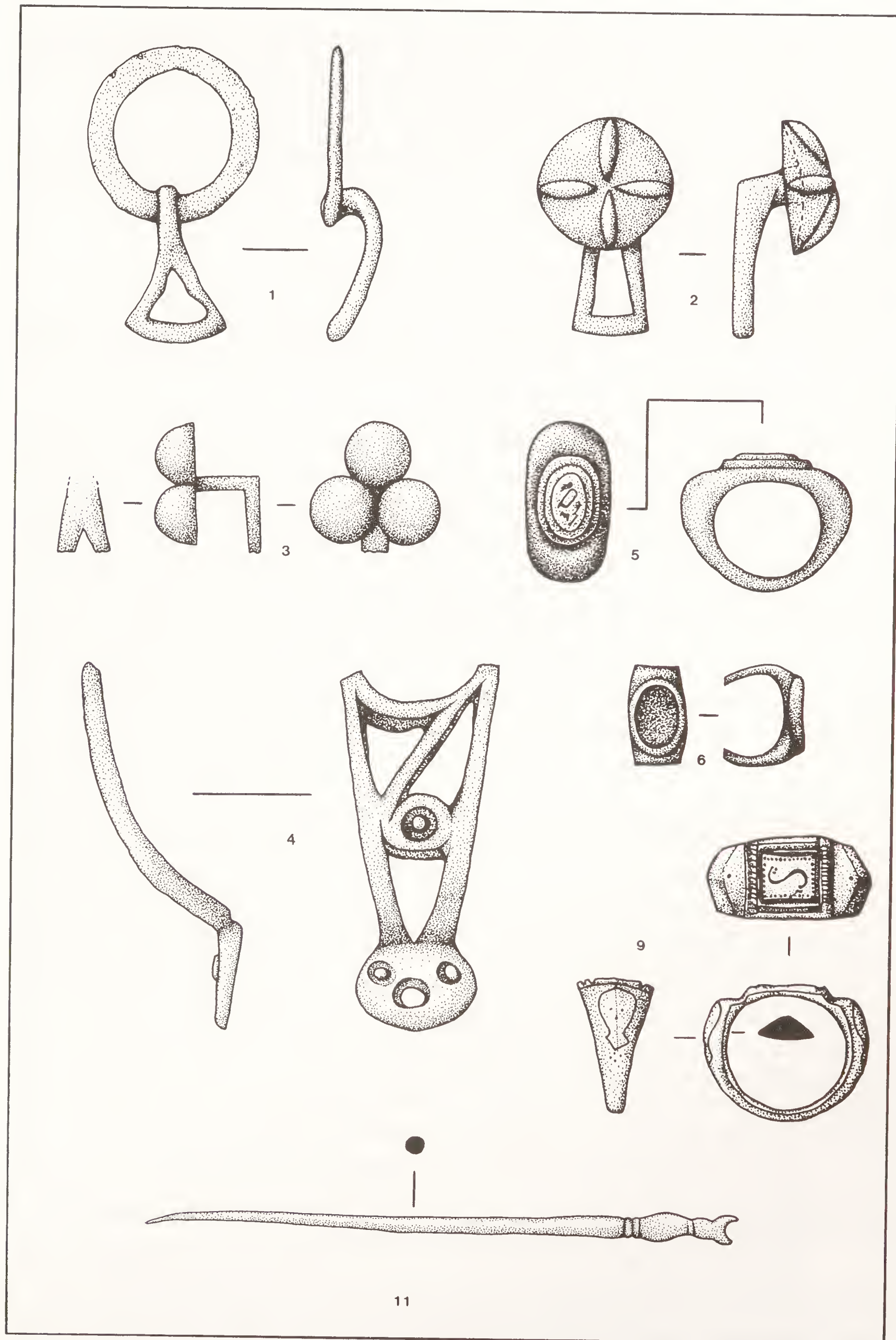


Fig. 8. Other objects 1 - 11



expanding, slightly arrised hoop and an oval, grooved bezel set with a blue glass intaglio of Hercules wrestling the lion (identification kindly made by Dr M Henig) with chamfered edges and projecting proud of the bezel.

\*6 R:A1993.36 Site 7 Surviving Maximum External Di 1.5

Finger ring. Approximately half of a ring with slight shoulders, a continuously expanding hoop of flat section and a now empty but fairly deep oval bezel setting for an intaglio or glass 'jewel'.

7 S:1985.609 Site 3 Internal Di 1.7; Th 0.4

Finger ring. Cast, plain, plano-convex sectioned ring.

8 S:1985.619 Site 3a Internal Di 1.7; Th 0.2

Finger ring. Cast strip form decorated with a central ?groove between beaded margins. The interior of the ring is poorly finished or unfinished with deep irregular grooves and peaks ?caused by coarse filing.

\*9 S:1985.806 Site 3 Internal Di 1.75

Finger ring. The finger ring is plano-convex in profile and the hoop triangular in section, widening markedly and continuously towards the flattened bezel. On this at either end is a flattened triangle with small circular punch marks at the points. These are separated from the main bezel decoration by a poorly distinguished beaded line and groove. The main design, bordered each side by a ridge and groove, is rectangular and features an incised S with punch marks at the ends of the letter surrounded by a border of closely set punch marks. On each shoulder is a crude incised head and shoulders formed of a continuous line, the ends of the shoulders being angular and leading down to a point. Small punch marks indicate the eyes and nose with four more below the head and shoulders arranged as the points of a lozenge, the top one coinciding with the base of the 'shoulders'.

Of No. 5 Martin Henig writes: "the ring is of silver, type V (Henig 1974, Fig. 1 ); the intaglio is moulded in glass, intended to represent Nicole (an onyx with upper blue layers on a lower dark one). The device is Hercules (shown in profile to the right on the impression) wrestling with the Nemean Lion (Henig 1974, Nos. 431-3). The date is no earlier than the end of the second century A.D. judging from the shape of the ring and the poor quality of the intaglio". No. 6 may or may not have held an intaglio and is probably second or third century in date, while Nos. 7 and 8 are very undistinguished finger rings. However, No. 9 is most unusual. The simple evenly expanded hoop places it in a numerous group of Romano-British finger rings (cf. Cool 1983, 226ff, groups IV-VII) some of which have angular sections, though sections ranging from circular to D-shaped are more common. As Cool (op cit, 232) notes the broad group runs from the first to at least third centuries but there is a strong tendency for the bezels to widen in later examples. The present ring belongs specifically to Cool's (op cit, 239ff) group VI characterised by incised bezel decoration (usually inscriptions or palm branches) but the group's dating is unclear. An example from Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971, pl. XVII No. 5; Cool op cit No. VI 12X) dated c.75 and Cool (op cit) No. VI 2 from a pit of the first half of the third century at Verulamium provide the only evidence, but the former is probably misleading as a guide to the main floruit of the type and certainly too slight to compare to the present ring. Other evidence also probably supports a third, or perhaps fourth, century date. In

Henig's (1974, 64ff) typology the present ring probably ought to be assigned to type V (later second and third century) while the style of the bezel decoration, especially the incised/punched borders might be compared to Henig's type XV intaglio engraved rings (e.g. Henig 1974, pl. LIII), principally of the fourth century. The punch and groove borders might also be compared to a decorated fastener from the later Roman collection at Cheddar caves (Branigan and Dearne 1991 a, Fig. 1 No. 5 with a fourth century parallel from Nettleton). Overall, though no close parallel has been traced a third century date seems the most likely for the ring, but a later date should not be ruled out. The use of a single letter, presumably standing for a personal name, rather than a one or more word inscription, on a ring appears to be otherwise unknown in Roman Britain (cf, RIB 113, Nos. 2422.1-.81).

10 R:A1993.27 Site 6 Internal Di 1.9; W 1.3; Th 0.3

Ring. Decorated with two narrow grooves flanking a wider central one (forming four ridges around the ring). The interior is smooth. Probably a small decorated binding/collar.

\*11 S:1985.623 Site 3a L 8.7

Pin. Nearly complete with an elongated biconical head above two cross-mouldings and with a broken pierced loop above separated by a cross-moulding. Cool (1990) Group 3b, first to third or fourth century.

12 S:1985.808 Site 1a L 8.9

Cosmetic spoon/spatula. Broken waisted implement with a long, narrow, concave 'spoon' at one end and probably originally a flat spatula at the other.

\*13 S:1985.706 Site 9 L 4.6

Ear scoop. Flat and tapering plate form with small circular end with central circular rebate and pierced, waisted suspension loop at the top. Incised on the upper body is a saltire between horizontal lines.

14 S:1985.684 Site 8a L 5.0

?Nail cleaner. The form is similar to the last but it is undecorated with a larger suspension loop above a lozengiform neck. The foot is probably worn or badly corroded.

\*15 R:A1993.33 Site 7 L c.4.2, Maximum W c.0.9

Nail cleaner. Of plain plate form with expanded shoulders and incised central line. A rectangular cast plate above the centre of the shoulders has two recessed zones (?for enamel) leaving a reserved M. Above is a divided rectangular block with a piercing through the upper part. Probably from a chatelaine.

No. 13 is probably akin to Colchester nail cleaner form 2b (Crummy 1983, 58) which seems to be second and probably third century in date. Both Nos. 14 and 15 are also of form 2b. No. 15 is identical to one from Colchester (Crummy 1983, No. 1941) which both confirms the suspected (two colour) enamelling and, since it was found with a decoratively linked nail file, the attribution to a chatelaine group. It must be very likely that they came from the same workshop/itinerant producer.

16 S:1985.20 Site 5a L 6.6; Maximum W 0.7

Tweezers. With expanding arms and curving jaws. There are two incised horizontal lines below a vertical one on the head.

\*17 S:1985.807 Site 1 L 5.65

Tweezers. The upper arms are of narrow, normal strip form but about halfway down expand markedly and asymmetrically to slightly curved, triangular jaws of considerable width. An incised line runs down each edge.



The form of No. 16 is entirely standard, but that of No. 17 is unusual. Flaring jaws are not that uncommon but not to this extent or asymmetrically and one wonders if some specialist purpose was intended (?perhaps medical not cosmetic). Potter (1979, 215 No. 59) discussing two similar examples from Watercrock also suggests a medical alternative to a cosmetic role. Another parallel but with ring and dot decoration is from Richborough (Bushe-Fox 1949, 129 No. 114).

\*18 R:A1993.20 Site 7 Di c.4.95

Complete circular seal box. The plain box has two opposed V-shaped cut aways on its rim and two projecting pierced circular lugs between which the lid is hinged. The lid has a raised margin and two concentric raised bands defining a tiny inner and two outer larger recessed zones, the outer with eight small circular recessed zones defined by raised margins. The enamel in the outer field survives in places, now at least white or pale yellow, that in the middle register is red, and the eight spots retain traces of red, now at least seeming to be in some cases four red spots in each circular cell. (NB it has not been possible to examine the base or inside of this object).

A parallel except for an added perforation in an expanded hinge plate and probably a different colour scheme comes from Colchester (Hattatt 1989, No. 145) and another with two less spots (of metal not enamel) and again different colours comes from Chester (Lloyd-Morgan 1978, 30 No. 2). Similar designs varying only in colours and number or exact treatment of the spots appear on studs (e.g. Corbridge: Foster 1908, Figs. 23-4) and more especially plate brooches (conveniently Butcher 1993, No. 4 with several parallels; also Hattatt 1989, Fig. 203 Nos. 1031-4). The late second/early third century dating evidence for the brooches discussed by Butcher (op cit) may be transferable to the other artefact forms.

\*19 R:A1918.12 Site 11 Maximum L 6.3; Maximum External Di 5.5

Horse Harness fitting. The fitting consists of a penannular, plano-convex sectioned ring with a medial casting scar or chased line round much of its exterior face and expanded terminals. Between the terminals is an integrally cast decorative device in a late Celtic style consisting of two opposed trumpets forming a ring within the confines of the penannular ring. Adjoining the opposed trumpets is a high relief petalled boss outside the penannular ring. Onto the flat back of the ring behind its terminals (and so hidden by the ornament) is cast at right angles a D-shaped loop. The undecorated margin of the main ring seems to be worn.

\*20 R A1981.13 Site 11 Maximum L 4.45; Maximum External Di 5.15

Horse Harness fitting. Similar in basic form to the last and again with casting scar/chased line but the terminals are grooved at their backs and clasp a rectangular plate with longitudinal ridges. Again a loop is cast behind this, but at its upper end and it is squarer and cast at more of an angle to the rest of the object. The ring is worn in a similar place to the last.

Nos. 19 and 20 are what MacGregor (1976, 31f) has described as Ovoid Mounts, part of a range of plain or enamelled Celtic decorated horse/vehicle harness fittings typified by the Stanwick and Severn Sisters hoards (MacGregor 1962; Davies and Spratling 1976). Examples include those from Corbridge and a pair from Stanhope, Peebleshire (MacGregor 1976 vol. II, Nos. 15-17), from



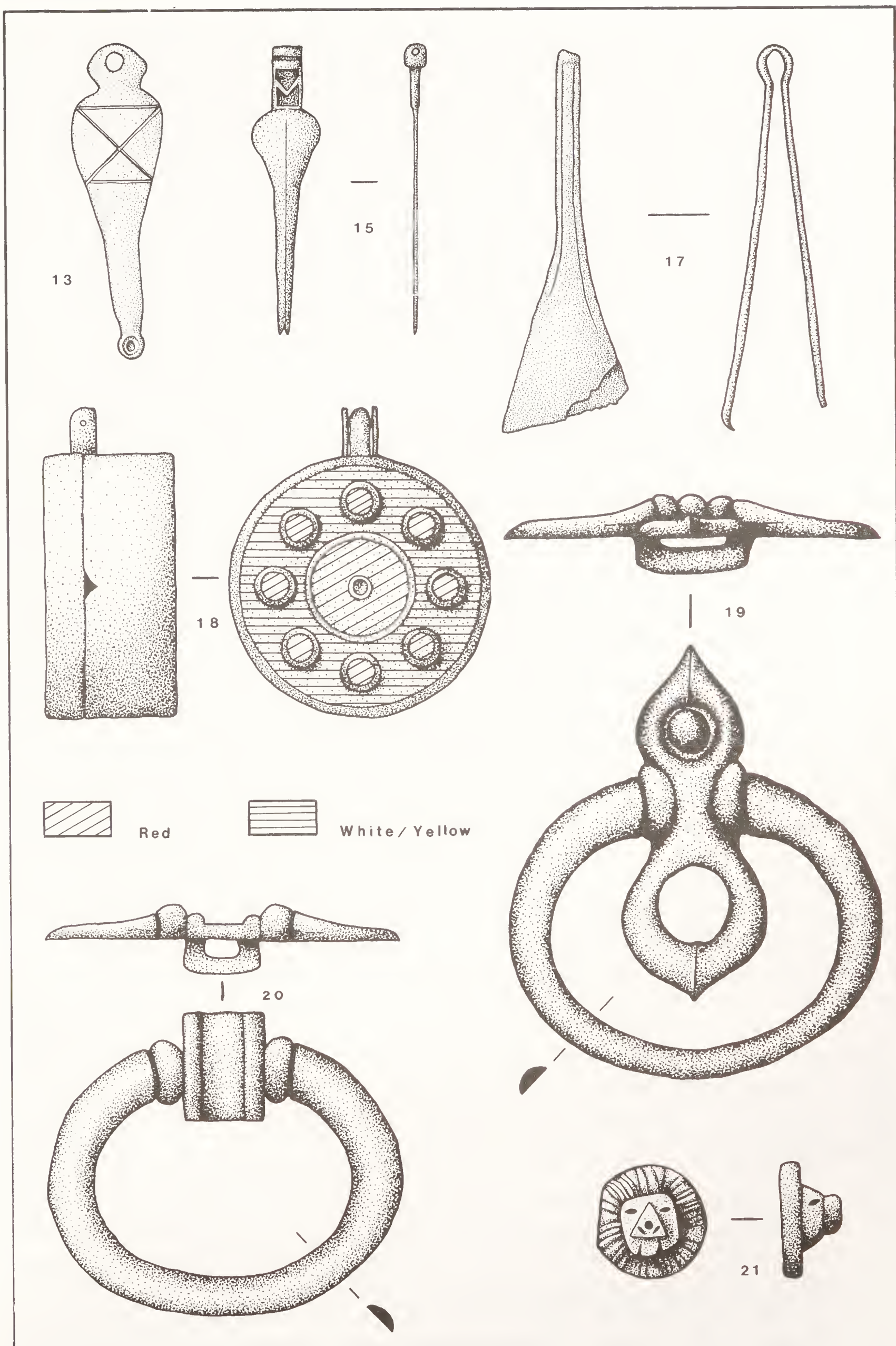


Fig. 9. Other objects 13 - 21



Stanwick (MacGregor 1962, Nos. 11-13 and 15), and from South Shields (Miket 1983, No. 154). Their exact function is uncertain. The wear on the undecorated side of the ring on the present and other examples suggests a relatively wide free moving strap passing through the ring while a narrower strap presumably passed through the loop on the rear. Indeed, on No. 20 the recessed rectangular block could have been intended to guide and more securely fix such a strap. All examples seem to have flat backs which were presumably hidden in use, perhaps favouring an interpretation as horse rather than vehicle furniture. Exact repeats in designs, as in much Celtic inspired work, are not to be expected except within sets but most are unified by expanded or lipped terminals with an ornament between hiding the loop, (open-work) ornament filling part of the interior of the ring, and often, as on the present examples, a chased or cast line (?a casting scar) round the ring. Decoratively No. 20 is the plainest known to the author (MJD), but No. 19 might be compared with a more elaborate example from Stanwick (MacGregor 1962, No. 11) with which it shares an internal loop, and one from South Shields (Miket 1983, No. 154) which also has a petalled boss between the terminals. The archaeological dating of ovoid mounts appears to run through the first and second and perhaps into the third centuries (cf. the Stanwick hoard and MacGregor 1976 vol. II, Nos. 15-17) but closer dating must rely on stylistic considerations. Little can be said of No. 20 unless its lack of decoration implies a late date (which relies on a dubious premise of continuing formal devolution). No. 19 however is a little more tractable. MacGregor (1976, 28) regards the petalled boss, shared by it and other ovoid mounts with some derivative three part bits, as a simplification and misunderstanding of trumpet coils, perhaps in the mid- to late-first century. The motif's currency in this and perhaps slightly later times is emphasised by its appearance on button and loop fasteners (Wild 1970, type III). That on No. 19 the petalled boss is symmetrical not 'tear shaped' might imply a devolution of the motif and ??second-century date but this is pure speculation. On balance a date somewhere between the mid-first and end of the second centuries is most probable but more evidence is yet required.

\*21 R:A1981.14 Site 11 Di c.165

Lion Headed Stud? (NB. It has not been possible to examine the back of this item and it is only presumed that it is a stud). A reasonably well moulded lion's head consisting of a triangular muzzle with incised nostrils, raised above a slightly rectangularised face with incised eyes and schematic mouth. The surrounding plate has a schematic representation of a mane executed by grooving, mainly radially.

Similar but better executed examples come from for instance Straubing (Walke 1965, Taf. 115 No. 3), Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971 vol. II, Fig. 48 No. 125; from a probably pre-75 level), Caerleon Baths (Zienkiewicz 1986, Fig. 63 No. 182), Corbridge (Bishop and Dore 1988, Fig. 81 No. 101, attached by two nails/shanks), Bullock Down (Drewett 1982, No. 121), and Barton Court Farm (Miles 1984, microfiche 5:G7 Fig. 113 No. 1, nailed through the muzzle). A cruder example is from Manchester (Jones and Grealey 1974, No. 22) and may be a boss or finial while studs and finials come from Strageath (Frere and Wilkes 1989, 151 Nos. 61, 63 and 64, all Antonine) and Derby (Annable and Wheeler 1985, No. 3, of the second half of the second century and from the

illustration rather debased). The use of lion—headed studs on caskets for burials has been discussed by Borrill (1981, 315ff) who cites seventy five examples, principally Antonine or earlier but including third and fourth century examples. However, it may be noted that those he discusses have an outer flange missing in the present and many of the other examples cited above. His observation that the mane tended to disappear in the group that he looked at by the late second century may have some chronological value but much more evidence is required as yet. Whether such studs were exclusive to cremation containers is probably to be doubted, but they do seem to have been considered as especially appropriate for them. Lion's heads equally though appear on other classes of artefact (e.g. an axle cap at Lullingstone: Meates 1987, 71 No. 148).

\*22 R:A1981.66 Site 11 L 6.0

?Phallic ?Box Hasp. A corroded and pitted object but retaining a bright bronze coloured patina. The back is flat and the front rendered in low relief in the form of a phallus with central flattened strip, a ridge at the head and embellishing grooves. Below, and separated by wide flutes are heavily worn ?testes or acorns, now at least appearing only as squared projections with smaller pointed mouldings at their ends. The base expands, with curved edges to a rectangular plinth. There are two circular holes, one higher than the other in the basal area and a long cast projection on the back of the head of the ?phallus has a circular piercing probably distorted by wear.

Phallic representations were common in the Roman world and are often found on military objects but also, as presumably here, in civil contexts. The wear on and form of the pierced projection on the back of this object almost certainly indicates that this is a hasp, most probably from a box (compare for instance Wickenden 1992, Fig. 39.4); the holes presumably being for attachment to a leather strap or the like. A second possibly phallic box hasp comes from an early Flavian burial at Alton, Hamps. (Millett 1986, Fig. 25.5e) where it was part of a suite of copper alloy casket fittings. A casket with an identical hasp to the last comes from another burial at Colchester (May 1930, 275f, pl. 85 grave 81 No. 503). Two more possible stylised examples come from Richborough (Cunliffe 196 pl. XXXVIII No. 132 and pl. XLV No. 194).

Attempts at close dating on this limited evidence would however be unjustified.

23 S:1985.682 Site 8a L 1.9; Di 1.2

Hollow, dome-headed stud.

24 S:1985.224 Site 5 L 3.8

?Cosmetic implement. A badly corroded and bent rectangular strip of thin, plano-convex section with traces of a circular suspension loop at one end and a narrow, slightly tapered, ?triangular sectioned 'leg' at the other. Possibly originally some form of cosmetic spatula.

25 S:1985.683 Site 8a L 3.9; MaximumW 1.0

Crescentic strip with the ends bent backwards. ??Roman

26 S:1984.517 Site 8, Base Di 3.7; H 2.9

Lead weight. Conical with small ?connecting holes in the base and summit.

Present weight 170g.

27 S:1985.805 Site 3 Di 2.38; H 1.2

Lead spindle whorl. Flat form. Plain.



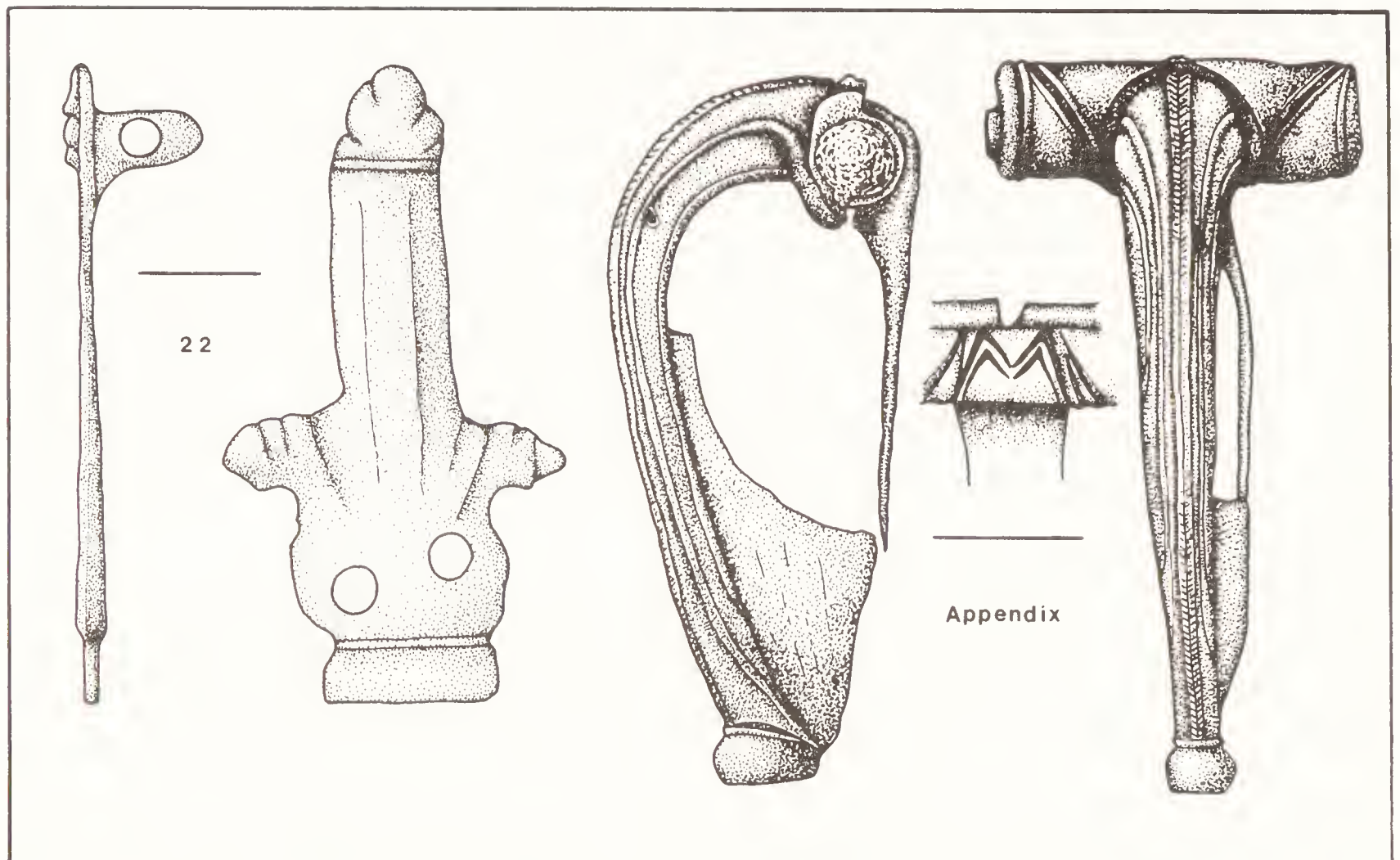


Fig. 10. Other objects 22 and Appendix

28 S:1985.681 Site 8a Di 2.4; H 1.0

Ditto. Plano-convex form. Plain

29 S:1985.620 Site 3a Di 2.2; Hi 0.7

Ditto. Flat form. Eight raised spots on each face

30 S:1985.709 Site 9 Di 2.9; H 1.3

Ditto. Biconical form. Well moulded radiating ridges on both faces.

#### **Appendix: A further Brooch from Site 3**

Although not a Rickett or Walton collection piece it seems appropriate to include here a full description of the only other brooch known from the sites under consideration.

A1 S:1974.644 Site 3 L 7.1

Dolphin Brooch. The hinged pin is held on an iron axis bar in tubular wings. The wings are decorated with single raised mouldings at their ends and double diagonal ones nearer the bow. The bow has a typical curved profile and is decorated with a central raised ridge with incised chevrons and plain curved ridges either side. There is a large footknob with a moulding above and the wide catchplate runs well up the bow. There is a hole (??due to corrosion) part way up the right side of the bow. The bow decoration is continued on a plinth below the head.

A large and heavy dolphin brooch with an unusually prominent foot knob for the type. The decoration is of little chronological value, moulded lines in a great variety of patterns being common on the type, but demonstrates its quality in continuing below the head. Its hinged mechanism as opposed to a rearward hook or double pierced lug retained spring marks it out as later in the Dolphin series which is broadly dated to the later-first and earlier-second centuries.

## The Sites and Assemblages

The narrow Magnesian Limestone strip on which all the find spots lie runs from the north of Nottinghamshire in a north-south direction through Yorkshire curving towards the coast of County Durham (see Fig. 1). The landscape along the limestone in South Yorkshire is undulating, fertile and well-wooded (Coates and Lewis 1966, 40), it would appear to be the most attractive area for settlement in the region.

- 1 *Site 1* - an area of established woodland on flattish ground with a small water course just beyond the modern boundary to the wood.

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 1 7, 30, 5

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 17

Other finds:-

- i Stone spindle whorl Di 3.9 cm

Coins

- ii As, ? Antoninus Pius AD 138-161

- iii Denarius, Septimus Severus AD 197

Pottery

- iv Grey wares, body and rim sherds (7)

- v Derbyshire ware, body sherds (3)

*Site 1a* - a finds concentration within site 1, revealed in an area of topsoil disturbed by bulldozing in 1981.

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 49

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 12

Other finds:-

- i Ironwork, fragments of nails

Coins

- ii-iii 4th century bronzes, Constantine I AD 312-313

Constantine II c.AD 350

Pottery

- iv Grey wares, body and rim sherds (18)

- v Derbyshire wares, body sherds (4)

A few of the brooches from site 1 may be later first century examples, but none need necessarily be before the first half of the second century. The penannular (Cat. A No. 55) is the latest of the brooch finds, probably being of the fourth century. The outstanding artefact is the Headstud brooch (Cat. A No. 24) which is high quality and was no doubt highly prized. The coin and pottery evidence is not at odds with a date range of second to fourth century for occupation of the site.

- 2 *Site 2* - a find spot in a modern plantation area.

Brooch in Catalogue A:- 8

The one find recovered from this site is the spectacularly fine Aesica brooch (Cat. A No. 8) dating probably to the second half of the first century. Speculation as to whether this is a site or simply a casual loss must weigh more heavily, in view of the lack of any other evidence, on the latter. Its loss, in whatever circumstances must have been a great blow to its former owner.

- 3 *Site 3* - a large area of established woodland situated on gentle slopes overlooking a river valley, an ideal settlement site.

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 1, 3, 13, 16, 23, 33, 37, 54, 56 and Appendix 1

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 4, 7, 9, 27

Other finds:-

- i Iron Knife of Manning Type 11A (1985, 114) L 15 cm; W 3.6 cm

Coins

- ii Denarius, Septimus Severus AD 197



iii Radiate, ?Tetricus C.AD 270-300

iv-ix Fourth century bronzes, House of Constantine AD 306-350

Constantine I AD 310-313

Constantine I AD 321

Crispus AD 323-324

Constantine I AD 332-333

*Site 3a* - reported evidence of rubble - cored banks forming an enclosure.

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 5, 7, 27, 28, 44, 50

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 8, 11, 29

Other finds:-

i Iron lamp or lamp-holder (similar to Manning 1985, 99 Fig. 26 and Walters 1914, 20 No.122) with hanger broken L 14.8 cm; W 10.5 cm; H 6 cm

ii Iron Knife, possibly Romano-British L 14.9 cm; W 2 cm

iii Iron steelyard beam and two biconical lead weights with iron suspension loops  
L (beam) 20 cm; L (weights) 6.8 cm and 4 cm

Similar to steelyard in the British Museum collections from Icklingham, Suffolk  
(Manning 1985,107; P42)

Coins

iv Sestertius, Lucilla AD 164

v-vii Radiates, Tetricus I AD 270-273

Tetricus II AD 270-273

? c.AD 270-300

vii-ix Fourth century bronzes, Constantine I AD 307-308

Constantine I AD 330-346

Magnentius AD 350-352

*Site 3b* - a number of rubble - cored banks forming an enclosure situated on the very edge of the woodland area.

Finds:-

i Iron double-spiked loop with ends bent over for attachment (as described by Manning 1985,130) L 2.9 cm.

ii Ironwork, 44 nail fragments all of Manning Type 1 B (1985, 135)

iii Iron fragment of flat section, possibly Romano-British L 6.6 cm

iv Iron ring, possibly Romano-British Di 4.2 cm

Coins

v Radiate, Tetricus c.AD 270-300

vi-viii Fourth century bronze, Constantine I AD 307-308

Crispus AD 323-324

Pottery

ix Grey wares; base, body and rim sherds

Site 3 has produced the largest and most significant assemblage and seems to represent a long lived and important site. Dating analysis of the 15 brooches from the site indicate possible activity from before c.AD 60 or a little later, illustrated by the Colchester brooch (Cat. A No. 1) and possibly the Hod Hill brooch (Cat. A No. 3). The coin evidence, as is not uncommon on Romano-British sites, produces a concentration of late-third and earlier-fourth century examples.

A number of finds from the assemblage suggest a degree of sophistication on this particular rural site. The steelyard and weights are indicative of trade, the lamp or lamp-holder provided a source of lighting traditionally associated with the Roman world and the possibility of literate inhabitants is hinted at by the inscribed ring (Cat. B No. 9). There are no known records of imported pottery fine wares for the table in Site 3, but the Celtic decorated tankard handle (Cat. B No. 4) can leave us only to speculate as to the quality and kind of drinking vessels which may have been used.

4 *Site 4* - find spot on open land

Brooch in Catalogue A:- 6

Probably a casual loss of an early brooch, namely the Langton Down (Cat. A No. 6) dating to pre c.AD 60.

5 *Site 5* - Swinston Hill Wood, North Anston (SK540845). Site surveyed by the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit (Sydes 1991, 6 fig. 2). The survey was prompted by the discovery of a spectacular Romano-British torc dated to the late first, or more likely second century (Beswick et al 1990).

Non-brooch find in Catalogue B:- 24

*Site 5a* - An enclosure 40m x 25m within site 5. The enclosure is situated on a small flat area on a natural spur of land overlooking a dry valley to the north. The rubble-cored banks survive up to a metre high in places.

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 22, 29, 41

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 16

Other finds Iron

i Iron L-shaped lift key, originally with three teeth, one now broken away (as described by Manning 1985, 90) L 13.5 cm; W 5 cm

ii Iron knife of Manning Type 11A (1985, 114) L 19 cm; W 3.5 cm

iii Iron double-spiked loop with ring (as described by Manning 1985, 130) Di 3.5 cm

Coins

iv Fourth century bronze, Constantius II AD 353-354

*Site 5b* - an area of field banks within site 5

Coins

i Reformed nummus, Maximianus AD 302-303

The small group of finds from site 5 shows nothing which need be dated to before c.AD 75 and much of the material may be of second century date. The torc fits comfortably into this dating scheme. The coin evidence once more is linked to the fourth century with possible activity up to the middle of that century. The iron key is interesting, but whether for use in a lock on a house door is questionable, certainly the rubble-cored banks on site do not suggest large, sophisticated built structures.

6 *Site 6* - a narrow woodland strip bisected by a railway cutting. An established woodland site with the majority of finds coming from a flattened area overlooking a valley cut by a small stream. Possible settlement site.

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 2, 26, 34, 46, 48

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 10

Other finds:-

Coins

i Barbarous Radiate, c.AD 270-300

The small assemblage from site 6 covers a date range from probably pre-Flavian times to the later third century.

7 *Site 7* - a small area of woodland bounded on one side by a small stream.

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 4, 10, 18

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 6, 15, 18

Other finds:-

i Ironwork, three nails of Manning Type 1 B (1985, 135)

Coins

ii Dupondius, ?Trajan c.AD 100

iii Denarius, Maximinus I, c.AD 235-238

iv Radiate, Tetricus II AD 270-300

v-vii Barbarous Radiates (3) AD 270-300

viii-xiii Fourth century bronzes, House of Valentinian c.AD 320

House of Constantine c.AD 330



(2) Constantine I c.AD 330  
Urbs Roma AD 333-334

Pottery

xiii Grey wares, rim and body sherds (5)

A first century commencement for site 7 is hinted at by the possible Trajanic coin and by the brooch evidence with the 'fiddle' Hod Hill (Cat. A No. 4) and the Aucissa brooch (Cat. A No. 10) both possibly dating to the third quarter of the first century. The seal box (Cat. B No. 18), dated to the second century is again perhaps suggestive of a literate component to the rural community in South Yorkshire. Once more the coins cluster in date around the later third and early fourth century.

- 8 *Site 8* - a sub-square wooded area, there is no evidence for a nearby water source.

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 11, 14

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 26

Other finds:-

Coins

i Radiate, ?Victorinus AD 268-270

*Site 8a* - a finds concentration in a ridged area within site 8.

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 14, 23, 25, 28

Site 8 has produced, like many of the other sites, a wide range of dates. The earliest being the first half of the second century. The only truly outstanding object within the assemblage is the Celtic bird head-decorated trumpet brooch (Cat. A No. 14).

- 9 *Site 9* - a sub-square wooded area again with no obvious water source nearby.

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 31, 32, 36, 38, 52

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 1, 2, 13, 30

Other finds:

Coins

i-iii Sestertii, Trajan AD 106-111

Hadrian AD 119-122

Crispina AD 177-183

The finds from site 9 could all, with some justification, be placed in the second century, although some of the brooches it could be argued may pre-date this slightly. The coin assemblage emphasises the tentative second century date with a lack of the expected late third and early fourth century examples.

- 10 *Site 10* - Hawks Wood/Old Meadow Wood complex near Thorpe Salvin (SK525815).

These adjacent wooded areas reportedly contain a sub-circular ditched enclosure, fragmentary remains of dry-stone walling and a 15 m finds concentration (Jones 1980, 182). A site visit by the authors failed to locate these remains, possibly due to dense undergrowth, however the topography of the site is similar to some of the other sites listed with gently sloping ground overlooking an escarpment with nearby water sources. It would be highly suitable as a settlement area.

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 12, 19, 20, 21, 25, 40, 42, 43

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 5

Other finds:

Coins

i-vii Radiates, Gallienus AD 253-268

?Gallienus c.AD 260

(3) Claudius II gothicus AD 268-270

Tetricus I AD 270-274

?Tetricus II AD 270-280

viii-ix Barbarous Radiates (2) c.AD 270-300

x-xvi Fourth century bronzes, Constantinopolis AD 330-346

(2) Constantine II AD 335-337

Constantine I AD 336-337

Constans, Pre-Reform AD 337-346

Constans AD 337-350

Valentinian II AD 383-392

The large site 10 has produced finds dating from the later first, or arguably early second century, through to the third century, depending on the date attached to the Knee brooch (Cat. A No. 43). The coin clusters may hint at two dispersed hoards of c.260-270 and c.330-350. The coin of Valentinian II, possibly as late as AD 392 is one of the latest from any of the assemblages.

The presence of a silver finger ring with intaglio (Cat. B No. 5) and two (of the total of three) Knee brooches (Cat. A Nos. 42 and 43) is significant and certainly not expected on a small Romano-British farmstead.

- 11 *Site 11* - Old Spring Wood, Thorpe Salvin (SK535815). A wooded area east of site 10, within which an area of 100 m in diameter produced a concentration of finds (Jones 1980, 182).

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 35, 39, 47, 53

Non-brooch finds in Catalogue B:- 3, 19, 20, 21, 22

Other finds:

Coins

i As, Tiberius AD 14-37

ii Sestertius, Hadrian AD 128-138

iii-iv Radiate, Postumus AD 259-268

Tetricus I AD 270-274

v-vi Barbarous Radiates (2) c.AD 270-300

vii-xxvi Fourth century bronzes, Constantine I AD 307-337

Crispus AD 317-326

(2) Constantine II AD 317-337

Constantinopolis AD 330-346

Urbs Roma AD 330-346

Constantine I (posthumous) AD 337

(4) Constans (Pre-Reform) AD 337-346

(4) Valens AD 364-378

(3) Gratian AD 367-383

(2) Valentinian I AD 375-392

The recovered coin collection is impressive in terms of range, from as early as AD 14 to as late as 392. This at least hints at a degree of prosperity over a long time period, and this suggestion of affluence is reinforced by the quality of the rest of the assemblage which includes the Celtic style harness mounts (Cat. B Nos. 19 and 20), the lion-headed stud (Cat. B No. 21) and the unusual box hasp of phallic form (Cat. B No. 22).

- 12 *Site 12* - a small wooded area bisected by a small stream.

Brooch in Catalogue A:- 51

Probably the site of a casual loss.

- 13 *Site 13* - a modern plantation area adjacent to a steep-sided valley cut by a small stream.

Brooches in Catalogue A:- 9, 45

The brooches date to before c.70 and to the second century respectively. Little more can be added in the light of no other known finds from the site.

## Discussion of Sites

At the time of Domesday the postulated amount of woodland in the limestone areas of South Yorkshire is small (Jones and Warburton 1993, 11 Fig. 7). In addition there is a distinct lack of woodland clearance names in comparison with adjoining geological areas (Jones and Warburton 1993, 9 Fig. 6) suggesting that prior to the eleventh century much of the region was used for agriculture, though whether



pastoral or arable is unclear.

Much of the woodland now present in the region has developed since the medieval period, the small pockets which remain uncultivated are sited along the steep sides of water gaps where ash, elm, lime and yew now grow in abundance (Coates and Lewis 1966, 10). It seems that the small woodland pockets producing the majority of Romano-British finds have developed through the medieval period fossilising earlier settlements which have been destroyed in other areas by agricultural processes such as ploughing, or by urban development.

Despite the great suitability of the Magnesian Limestone areas for settlement in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods little evidence has as yet been recovered in South Yorkshire from south of the River Don, leading to a so-called 'problem area' (Beswick et al 1990, 29). This is somewhat in contrast to the adjoining areas which through the aerial reconnaissance work of the late Derrick Riley have been seen to show a network of field systems. To the east lies an extensive co-axial or brickwork field system on the Bunter Sandstone areas (Riley 1980). The artefactual evidence recovered from excavation through part of the system suggests a Roman date (Samuels and May in Riley 1980) although the underlying system may be of pre-Roman origin.

The lack of such field systems extending on to the limestone areas may be due to the use of dry-stone walling as a form of land division as opposed to the ditches more commonly found on the lighter Bunter Sandstone soils. The limestone outcrops in some of the woodlands, indeed excavations at Edlington Wood near Doncaster revealed only 30 cm of earth overlying the bedrock (Sumpter 1973, 37). In such circumstances ditch-digging would be a difficult and time-consuming process. The robbing of stones from walling or regular ploughing of these sites consisting of purely above surface features could lead to them being virtually invisible to aerial photographic techniques. This argument should, however be equally applicable to sites on limestone both north and south of the Don, yet north of the river cropmarks have been recorded.

At Ledston a series of enclosures and field boundaries have been identified, only obscured in places by wooded and built-up areas (Riley 1977, 22-3). The Iron Age and Romano-British site at Dalton Parlours (West Yorkshire) lies on Magnesian Limestone, yet aerial survey since 1986 has revealed an extensive area of linear ditches and tracks (Yarwood in Wrathmell and Nicholson 1990). The geological differences appear not to be the only factor in the lack of cropmarks to the south. Riley could not explain the divergent results simply on the geological make-up of the area, he suggests there are real archaeological differences between sites north and south of the Don (Riley 1983, 64).

Without cropmark evidence the little which can be gleaned from the Magnesian Limestone to the south is somewhat ad hoc. A Romano-British settlement has long been known about at Edlington Wood, south of Doncaster. The site came to prominence due to casual finds in the wood which produced an assemblage similar to that described in the catalogue above, namely Trumpet, Disc and Penannular brooches; a nail cleaner; and a cosmetic mortar, although the final artefact type was unidentified (Dolby 1973, 23-4 Fig. 17). Later survey work revealed a series of enclosures and farmsteads interconnected by rubble-walls and ditches (Ramm in Branigan 1980, 36 Fig. 4.5). Excavation on one of the sites, published in interim



form, has revealed little more of the likely character of the other woodland sites. The excavator suggested a farmstead dating from the later first to early fourth century and being of a 'peasant nature, divorced from the higher standard of living which is commonly found on larger Romano-British sites and urban areas', (Sumpter 1973, 39).

Further south Radley and Plant investigated a number of sites in a small area on the western fringe of the Magnesian Limestone, they produced large assemblages of Romano-British pottery. A possible farmstead at Aston (SK463858) produced sherds dating from the late first to late second century (Radley and Plant 1969a, 158-9). Close-by the Snape Close site (SK516826) produced 475 sherds of second and third century pottery (Radley and Plant 1969b).

The Smarson Hill Wood site at Anston (SK520824) shows a similarity to the rubble-built walls and lynchets of Swinston Hill Wood (Sydes 1991, 6 Fig. 2) and Edlington Wood. The finds assemblage from the Anston site lacks the copper-alloy small finds discussed in the catalogue, only grey wares, Dales ware and Derbyshire ware pottery was recovered (Radley and Plant 1969b).

A possible Romano-British site was discovered at Carlton-in-Lindrick (SK583848) during construction of a bungalow. The site produced grey wares, Samian ware, a blue glass setting and a copper-alloy semi-circle' all from a burnt area below plough soil with iron slag, coal and pottery of the second to fourth centuries (Sheffield Museum 1962). Hell Wood near Maltby (SK543906) has also produced large quantities of 'coarse black-burnished wares' (Clark 1943, 95).

The area around Whitwell which spreads into Nottinghamshire and northern Derbyshire has produced more evidence of possible Romano-British farmsteads on the limestone. A potato drag in 1960 revealed a possible six hut circles (SK543793) with Romano-British pottery of the first to fourth centuries as well as flints, a whetstone and an Iron Age coin (Jackson 1960). Further finds on the same field in subsequent years produced more Romano-British pottery in the form of Cantley coarse wares and Derbyshire wares (White 1961 and 1962). The most thoroughly excavated site in this vicinity is at Scratta Wood (SK543798), an oval enclosure with rubble banks revetted by limestone slabs. The site was excavated ahead of bulldozing between 1959-65 (Worksop Archaeological Research Committee 1965). Material recovered from the site included Iron Age pottery, and a La Tene III brooch as well as Romano-British pottery and a Headstud brooch. In their re-assessment of the site Challis and Harding suggest the Romano-British material results from re-occupation or squatting (1975, 94), although it is unclear what particular evidence, on this badly disturbed site, suggests a hiatus between the Iron Age and Romano-British occupation.

There seems to be emerging a pattern of apparently lively, prosperous farmsteads in terms of objects but possibly very little in terms of impressive structural remains or identifiable earthworks. The finds evidence is suggestive of at least some of the sites being in use from the later first century, possibly earlier, and of their occupation in to the fourth century. None of the evidence yet retrieved, however, can push the dating any later.

### **Discussion of the Finds**

Irrespective of the implications of the finds in the Rickett and Walton collections for individual sites a number of points relating to the composition of the corpus as a whole are worth making. The inclusion of several artefacts reflecting late Celtic artistic



traditions (e.g. Cat. B Nos. 19, 20 and 4, Cat. A No. 8) is apparent and the Trumpet brooch with a bird (?of prey) zoomorph (Cat. A No. 14) is unique and indicative of a lively artistic tradition in the area. Indeed the brooches as a whole are especially interesting in that they may represent an identifiable local 'signature' of types, as well as evidence for the dissemination of workshops' products and possibly even the trading or social affinities of the inhabitants of the area. Although the largest published single corpus of brooches from South Yorkshire to date, the present collection cannot of course be regarded as necessarily representative. The finds are all from unexcavated sites mostly situated in modern woodlands, which may reflect pedological factors, so the type of site being 'sampled' is biased, also they are metal detector finds alone - a collection 'strategy' that is hardly conducive to systematic recovery of evidence. The quantity of finds, however, from 13 sites and find spots suggests that some provisional comments are worthwhile.

The presence of first-century 'native' Colchester brooches presumably traded from further south and forms brought from the Continent during the conquest (Hod Hills, Langton Downs, Aucissas and the Aesica which developed from the Rosette type) is obvious, and in stark contrast to the lack of Neuheim Derivative brooches. Few of the latter have come from excavated major sites in the South Yorkshire area either, (only Mackreth 1985, No. 34; Ellis 1989, No. 1 ) though a couple more come from Rossington Bridge (unpublished Doncaster Museum records) but their tendency to be in iron nearly as often as copper alloy mitigates against their recovery. Yet no Colchester brooch and only two Hod Hills and one Aucissa relative, of immediate post-conquest introductions, come from the area's 'major sites' collections (Ellis 1989, Fig. 14 Nos. 2-3; Mackreth 1985 No. 35).

Whether or not these observed differences prove to be of significance the main run of the later first and second-century bow brooches published here certainly seem to display formal trends which one might consider typical of South Yorkshire. The Colchester derivative brooches in the Dolphin family and especially the 'Polden Hill' (sprung) types common in the east midlands, south of the study area and in the Peak District to the west (cf. e.g. Derby (Mackreth 1985); and unpublished study of the Peak District material by MJD) are very sparsely represented in the present collection. Equally 'T-shaped' Colchester derivatives are hardly seen (though several very small examples appear at Templeborough; unpublished re-assessment by MJD superseding May 1922). Rather, the characteristic features are the ubiquitous Trumpet brooch, including the hinged version especially common east of the Pennines and a particular style of double lug sprung brooch which is similarly distributed; but particularly the unusually plain bowed Headstuds and Headstud variants, some of which might justifiably be regarded as South Yorkshire specialities. A few other forms occur such as the 'sawfish' (a recognised midlands type) and widely spread Trumpet-headed and Knee brooches, but the main constituents of the collection seem to distinguish it from those of adjacent areas.

It has been shown how one especially distinctive form of Trumpet brooch and one unusual pattern of circular plate brooch may show the distribution of a workshop's products, also the once enamelled nail cleaner clearly came from the same workshop as an example from Colchester. The Trumpet, if not the Plate brooch workshops concerned may well have been situated in southern Yorkshire (if they were static not peripatetic), if so their products clearly spread across the immediate area and in the



case of the Trumpets also south west into the Peak District, and perhaps north and east into Humberside. In the case of the Plate brooch workshop its location is still unclear but the evidence probably suggests production somewhere in eastern England, in or south of South Yorkshire. Its products though travelled south west into Dorset. Indeed Dorset appears several times in connection with fairly distinctive brooches in the collection. The unusual Plate brooches' fellow comes from there; the 'fiddle' Hod Hill finds its few parallels there and a Grooved Bow brooch from that county is far and away the most distant from South Yorkshire yet noted. In addition the hinge fastening of the torc from site 5 is paralleled by the 'Wraxall' class torcs, indeed the metallic composition of the South Yorkshire torc is very similar to two of the four Wraxall class torcs yet analysed, the distribution of this class of torc is almost exclusively limited to the south west of Britain (Megaw and Megaw in Beswick et al 1990 26-7). These coincidences may be just that, but it should not be overlooked that Black Burnished vessels produced at Rossington in South Yorkshire are visually identical to those made in the Durotrigian tribal area (Buckland et al 1980, 152) namely modern Dorset.

## Conclusion

It is clear that both the aerial photographic evidence and small find evidence suggest that the sites lying on the Magnesian Limestone south of the Don are individualistic, even singular, in comparison to the evidence obtained from adjacent areas. This individuality must surely be linked to the inhabitants' social affinities and trading partners and the curious similarities to south western material offers us an intriguing insight into what form some of these links may have taken.

## Acknowledgements

The authors would like to express their thanks to Judith Ely and Kitty Ross for allowing them access to the finds and records at Clifton Park Museum in Rotherham, to Catherine Johns at the British Museum; and also to Martin Henig for allowing them to use his comments on the intaglio ring. Thanks must also go to Alison Walster of Sheffield City Museum for her work on conservation and examination of the small finds as well as to Mr Rickett and Mr Walton who presented the objects to Sheffield and Rotherham Museums respectively.

## References

- Allason-Jones, L. And Milet, R. 1984 *The Catalogue of Small Finds from South Shields Roman Fort* (Newcastle Soc. Ant.)
- Annable, R. and Wheeler, H. 1985 'The West Gate Excavations 1968' *Derbyshire Archaeol. J.* 105, 33-7
- Atkinson, D. 1942 *Report on Excavations at Wroxeter (the Roman City of Uriconium) in the County of Salop 1923-1927.* (Birmingham Archaeol. Soc.)
- Beswick, P., Megaw, M.R., Megaw, J.V.S. and Northover, P. 1990 'A Decorated Late Iron Age Torc from Dinnington, South Yorkshire' *Antiq. J.* 70, 16-33
- Bishop, M.C. and Dore, J.N. 1988 *Corbridge: Excavations of the Roman fort and town. 1947-80* HBMCE Rept No. 8 (London)
- Boon, G.C. and Savory, H.N. 1975 'A Silver Trumpet Brooch with Relief Decoration, Parcel-Gilt, from Carmarthen, and a note on the type'. *Antiq. J.* 55, 44-61
- Borrill, H. 1981 'Casket Burials' in C. Partridge *Skeleton Green. A Late Iron Age and Romano-British Site* Britannia Monograph 2, 304-21
- Bramwell, D., Dalton, K., Drinkwater, J.F., Hassall, M., Lorimer, K.L. and Mackreth, D.F.



- 1983 'Excavations at Pooles Cavern, Buxton: An Interim Report' *Derbyshire Archaeol. J.* 103, 47-74
- Branigan, K. (Ed) 1980 *Rome and the Brigantes: The impact of Rome on Northern England.* (Univ. Of Sheffield)
- Branigan, K. and Dearne, M.J. 1991 *A Gazetteer of Romano-British Caves and their Finds* (Sheffield Uni. Dept. Arch.)
- Branigan, K. and Dearne, M.J. 1991 a 'Romano-British Usage of the Caves of Cheddar Gorge' *Proc. Uni. Bristol Spelaeological Soc.* 191, 19-31
- Branigan, K. and Dearne, M.J. 1992 'Romano-British Cavemen' Oxbow Monograph 19 (Oxford:Oxbow)
- Branigan, K., Dearne, M.J. and Rutter, J.G. (1994) 'Romano-British Occupation of Minchin Hole Cave, Gower' *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 142, 40-73
- British Museum 1958 *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* (2nd Ed.) (London:BM)
- Bruce, J.C. 1867 *The Roman Wall* (3rd Ed.) (London:Longmans)
- Buckland, P.C., Magilton, J.R. and Dolby, M.J. 1980 'The Roman Pottery Industries of South Yorkshire' *Britannia* 11, 145-164
- Buckland, P.C. 1986 *Roman South Yorkshire: A Source Book* (Sheffield Uni. Dept. Arch)
- Buckland, P.C. and Magilton, J.R. 1986 *The Archaeology of Doncaster: 1. The Roman Civil Settlement* BAR Brit. Ser. 148 (Oxford:Brit. Arch. Repts)
- Burley, E. 1956 'Metalwork from Traprain Law' *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 89, 118-221
- Bushe-Fox, J.P. 1914 *Second Report on the Excavations on the Site of the Roman Town at Wroxeter Shropshire 1913* Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 2
- Bushe-Fox, J.P. 1926 *1st Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough.* Kent Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 6
- Bushe-Fox, J.P. 1932 *3rd Report on the Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough.* Kent Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 10
- Bushe-Fox, J.P. 1949 *4th Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough* Kent Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 16
- Butcher, S.A.C. 1977 'Enamels from Roman Britain' in M.R. Apted et al (eds) *Ancient Monuments and their Interpretation*
- Butcher, S.A. 1991 'The Brooches' in P.S. Austen *Bewcastle and Old Penrith.* Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Archaeol. Res. Soc. Series 6 (Kendal), 179-85
- Butcher, S. 1993 'Brooches of Copper Alloy in A. Woodward and P. Leach *The Uley Shrines* English Heritage, 149-57
- Cameron, H. and Lucas, J. 1971-3 'Tripontium: 2nd Interim Report on excavations by the Rugby Archaeology Society at Caves Inn nr Rugby' *Trans. Birm. Warwicks. Archaeol. Soc.* 85, 93-144
- Casey, P.J., Davies, J.L. and Evans, J. 1993 *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman fort 1975-1979* CBA Res. Rept. 90
- Challis, A. and Harding, D. 1975 *Later Prehistory from the Trent to the Tyne* BAR Brit. Ser. 20 (Oxford:BAR)
- Clark, M. 1943 'Roman Yorkshire 1993' *Y.A.J.* 35 (1940-43), 79-98
- Coates, B. and Lewis, G. 1966 *The Doncaster Area* British Landscapes through Maps No. 8. The Geograph. Assoc.
- Cool, H.E.M. 1983 *A study of the Roman Personal Ornaments made of metal. excluding Brooches. from Southern England.* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Uni. Of Wales)
- Cool, H.E.M. 1990 'Roman Metal Hairpins from Southern England' *Archaeol. J.* 147, 148-82
- Collingwood, R.G. 1969 'Brooches' in R.G. Collingwood and I.A. Richmond *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, 286-303
- Corcoran, J.X.W.P. 1952 'Tankards and Tankard Handles of British Early Iron Age' *Proc. Preh. Soc.* 18, 85-102
- Crouch, K.R. and Shanks, S.A. 1984 *Excavations in Staines 1975-76: The Friends' Burial*

- Ground Site* London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc./Surrey Archaeol. Soc. Jt. Publication No. 2
- Crummy, N. 1983 *The Roman Small Finds from Excavations in Colchester 1971-9* Colchester Archeol. Trust
- Cunliffe, B. 1968 *Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough*. Kent Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 23
- Cunliffe, B. 1971 *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-1969* Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 27
- Curle, J. 1911 *A Roman Frontier Post and Its People* (Glasgow: Maclehose)
- Curle, A.O. and Cree, J.E. 1915 'Account of excavations on Traprain Law in the Parish of Prestonkirk, County of Haddington, in 1915' *Proc.Soc. Antiq.Scot.* 50, 64-1 27
- Dannell, G.B. and Wild, J.P. 1987 *Longthorpe II* Britannia Monograph 8 (London: Soc. Promotion Roman Studies)
- Darlington, J. and Evans, J. 1992 'Roman Sidbury, Worcester: Excavations 1959-1987' *Trans Worcs. Archaeol. Soc.* 3rd s13, 4-104
- Davies, J.L. and Spratling, M.G. 1976 'The Seven Sisters Hoard: A Centenary Study' in G.C. Boon and J.M. Lewis (eds) *Welsh Antiquity: Essays mainly on Prehistoric Topics Presented to H.N. Savory on his Retirement as Keeper of Archaeology* (Cardiff: Nat. Mus. Wales) 121-147
- Dawkins, W.B. 1874 *Cave Hunting*
- Dearne, M.J. and Parsons, J. 1993 'An Enamelled Horse Harness Mount and Pendant from South Yorkshire', *ARMA* 5ii, 20-21
- Dolby, M. 1973 'Archaeology' in H. Philips (ed) *Edlington Wood* (Doncaster Rural District Council), 5-40
- Down, A. 1978 *Chichester Excavations III*
- Down, A. 1979 *Chichester Excavations IV* (Chichester Excav. Cttee/Phillimore)
- Down, A. 1989 *Chichester Excavations VI* (Chichester District Council/Phillimore)
- Drewett, P. 1982 *The Archaeology of Bullock Down. Eastbourne. E. Sussex: The Development of a Landscape* (Lewes: Sussex Archaeol. Soc.)
- Drury, P.J. 1988 *The Mansio and Other Sites in the Southern Sector of Caesaromagus* Chelmsford Archaeol. Rept. 3.1/CBA Res. Rept. 66
- Dudley, H.E. 1949 *Early Days in North-West Lincolnshire. A Regional Archaeology* (Scunthorpe)
- Ellis, P. 1989 'Roman Chesterfield: Excavations by T. Courtney 1974-78' *Derbyshire Archaeol. J.* 109, 51-130
- Exner, K. 1939 'Die Provinzialrömischen Emailfibeln der Rheinlande *Bericht der Römisch - Germanischen Kommission* 29 (Berlin)
- Feachem, R.W. de F. 1951 'Dragonesque fibulae' *Antiq. J.* 31, 32-42
- Feachem, R.W. de F. 1968 'Dragonesque fibulae' *Antiq. J.* 48, 100-2
- Foster, R.H. 1908 'Corstopitum. Report on the Excavations in 1907' *Archaeol. Aeliana* 3rd Ser. 4, 205-303
- Foster, R.H. and Knowles, W.H. 1911 'Corstopitum: Report on the Excavations in 1910' *Archaeol. Aeliana* 3rd Ser. 7, 143-267
- Fowler, E. 1960 'The Origins and Development of the Penannular Brooch in Europe' *Proc. Preh. Soc.* 26, 149-77
- Fowler, E. 1963 'Celtic Metalwork of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries AD: A Re-Appraisal' *Archaeol. J.* 120, 98-160
- Frere, S.S. 1972 *Verulamium Excavations I* (Oxford: Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 28)
- Frere, S.S. 1984 *Verulamium Excavations III* (Oxford: Uni. Cttee. For Arch.)
- Frere, S.S. and Wilkes, J.J. 1989 *Strageth: Excavations Within the Roman Fort 1973-86* Britannia Monograph 9
- Gould, J. 1963-4 'Excavations at Wall (Staffs), 1961-3 on the site of the Early Roman Forts and of the late Roman Defences' *Trans. S. Staffs Archaeol. Hist. Soc.* 5, 1-50
- Gregory, A. 1969 'A Romano-British Site at Bingham' *Trans. Thoroton Soc.* 73, 105-110
- Hartley, B.R. and Fitts, R.L. 1988 *The Brigantes Peoples of Roman Britain* Ser. (Alan Sutton: Gloucester)
- Hattatt, R. 1982 *Ancient and Romano-British Brooches* (Sherborne)



- Hattatt, R. 1985 *Iron Age and Roman Brooches* (Oxford:Oxbow)
- Hattatt, R. 1987 *Brooches of Antiquity* (Oxford:Oxbow)
- Hattatt, R. 1989 *Ancient Brooches and Other Artefacts* (Oxford:Oxbow)
- Hawkes, C.F.C. and Hull, M.R. 1947 *Camulodunum* Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 14 (Oxford)
- Henig, M. 1974 *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* BAR Brit. Ser. 8 (Oxford: Brit. Archaeol. Repts.)
- Hildyard, G.J.W. 1954 'The Rudston Fibulae' *Antiq. J.* 34, 73-75
- Hobley, B. 1969 'A Neronian-Vespasianic site at 'The Lunt', Baginton, Warwickshire' *Trans Proc. Birm. Archaeol. Soc.* 83, 65-129
- Hobley, B. 1973 'Excavations at 'The Lunt' Roman Military Site, Baginton, Warwickshire, 1968-71. 2nd Interim Report' *Trans. Brim. Warwicks. Archaeol. Soc.* 85, 7-92
- Hull, M.R. 1967 'The Nor'Nour Brooches' in D. Dudley 'Excavations on Nor'Nour in the Isles of Scilly, 1962-6' *Archaeol. J.* 124, 28-64
- Jackson, M. 1960 'Whitwell' *East Midlands Archaeol. Bull.* 3; 2
- Jackson, R. 1990 *Camerton: The Late Iron Age and Early Roman Metalwork* (London:B M Publ.)
- Jarrett, M.G. and Wrathmell, S. 1981 *Whitton: An Iron Age and Roman Farmstead in South Glamorgan* (Cardiff: Uni Wales Press)
- Jones, D. 1980 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register: 1979' *Y.A.J.* 52; 179-188
- Jones, G.D.B. and Grealey, S. 1974 *Roman Manchester* (Manchester Excavation Committee: John Sherratt & Son, Altrincham)
- Jones, M. and Warburton, R. 1993 *Sheffield's Woodland Heritage* Revised Ed. (Rotherham)
- Kilbride-Jones, H.E. 1980 *Celtic Craftsmanship in Bronze* (London: Croom Helm)
- Kilbride-Jones, H.E. 1980a *Zoomorphic Penannular Brooches* (Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 39)
- King, A. 1970 'Romano-British metalwork from the Settle District of West Yorkshire' *Y.A.J.* 62, 410-417
- Kirk, J.R. 1949 'Bronzes from Woodeaton, Oxon' *Oxoniensia* 14,1-45
- Knowles, W.H. and Foster, R.H. 1909 'Corstopitum, Report on the 1908 Excavations' *Archaeol. Aeliana* 3rd Ser., 305-424
- Lane, H.C. 1973 *Derwent Archaeology Society Report No. 1*
- Leach, P. 1982 *Ichester Vol. 1: Excavations 1974-1975* Western Archaeol. Trust Excav. Monograph 3 (Bristol)
- Lloyd-Morgan, G. 1978'Some Small Roman Brooches in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester' *J. Chester Archaeol. Soc.* 61, 25-32
- MacGregor, M. 1962 'The Early Iron Age Metalwork Hoard from Stanwick, N. Yorks' *Proc. Preh. Soc.* 28, 17-57
- MacGregor, M. 1976 *Early Celtic Art in North Britain* (Leicester Uni. Press)
- Mackreth, D.F. 1971-3 'The Brooches' in H. Cameron and L. Lucas 'Tripontium:2nd Interim Report on Excavations by the Rugby Archaeology Society at Caves Inn, nr. Rugby' *Trans. Birm. WanNicks. Archaeol. Soc.* 85,93-144
- Mackreth, D.F. 1981-2 'The Brooches' in A.A. Round 'Excavations at Wall (Staffs) 1968-1972 on the sites of the Roman Forts' *Trans. Staffs. Archaeol. Nat. Hist. Soc.* 23, 45-8
- Mackreth, D.F. 1982 'Two Brooches from Stonea Cambs. and Bicester, Oxon. On the origin of the Aesica Brooch' *Britannia* 13, 310-315
- Mackreth, D.F. 1985 'Brooches' in K. Blockley *Marshfield: Ironmongers Piece Excavations 1982-3* BAR Brit. Ser. 141 (Oxford:BAR), 136-150
- Mackreth, D.F. 1985a 'Brooches from Roman Derby' *Derbyshire Archaeol. J.* 105, 281 -99
- Mackreth, D.F. 1989 'The Brooches' in K. Blockley *Prestatyn 1984-5* BAR Brit. Ser. 210 (Oxford:BAR), 87-90
- Mackreth, D.F. 1990 'Brooches' in M.R. McCarthy *A Roman. Anglian and Medieval Site at Blackfriars Street. Carlisle: Excavations 1977-9* Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and

Archaeol. Soc. Res. Ser. 4, 105-13

Manning, W.H. 1985 *Catalogue of the Romano-British Iron tools, fittings and weapons in the British Museum* (BM Publications Ltd: London)

May, T. 1922 *The Roman Forts at Templeborough, near Rotherham* (Rotherham: H. Garnett)

May, T. 1930 *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Museum* (Cambridge)

Martin, E., Pendleton, C. and Plouviez, J. 1989 'Archaeology in Suffolk 1989' *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol. Hist.* 37ii, 147-164

Meates, G.W. 1987 *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone. Kent Vol. II: The Wall Paintings and Finds* (Maidstone: Kent Archaeol. Soc.)

Miket, R. 1983 *The Roman Fort at South Shields: excavations of the Defences 1977-1981* (Tyne and Wear C.C. Museums)

Miles, D. 1984 (ed) *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm. Abingdon. Oxon OAU Rept. 3/CBA Res. Rept. 50*

Millet, M. 1986 'An Early Roman Cemetery at Alton, Hampshire'. *Proc. Hampshire Field Club Archaeol. Soc.* 42, 43-87

Mills, P.C. 1984 'Excavations at Roman Road/Parnell Road, Old Ford, London, E3' *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 35, 25-36

Neal, D.S. 1974 *The Excavation of the Roman Villa in Gadebridge Park Hemel Hempstead 1963-8* Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 31

Olivier, A. 1988 'The Brooches' in T.W. Potter and S.D. Trow 'Puckridge Braughing, Herts: The Ermine Street Excavations, 1971-72' *Herts. Archeol.* 10, 35-53

Painter, K. and Sax, M. 1970 'The British Museum Collection of Roman Head-stud Brooches' *British Museum Quarterly* 34, 153-74

Parsons, J. 1992 'A linked pin from Thorpe Salvin, South Yorkshire' *Med. Archaeol.* 36, 169-170

Pitt-Rivers, Lt.-Gen. 1887 *Excavations in Cranbourne Chase Vol. 1* (London: Priv. Published)

Potter, T.W. 1979 *Romans in North-West England Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Archaeol. Soc. Res. Ser. No. 1*

Radley, J. and Plant, M. 1969a 'Roman remains from South Yorkshire and North-east Derbyshire' *Trans. Hunter Archaeol. Soc.* 9, 158-234

Radley, J. and Plant, M. 1969b 'Romano-British field System and other finds at South Anston' *Trans. Hunter Archaeol. Soc.* 9, 252-261

Raistrick, A. 1936 'Excavations at Sewells Cave, Settle, W. Yorkshire' *Proc. Uni. Durham Philosoph. Soc.* 9, 191-204

Richardson, K.M. 1960 'A Roman Brooch from the Outer Hebrides, with notes on others of its Type' *Antiq. J.* 40, 200-213

Richmond, I.A. 1925 *Huddersfield in Roman Times* (Tolson Memorial Museum)

RIB 113 = Frere, S.S. and Tomlin, R.S.O. (eds.) 1991 *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain Vol. II Fascicule 3* (Stroud: Sutton)

Riley, D.N. 1977 'Air Reconnaissance in Central and South Yorkshire in 1976' *Y.A.J.* 49, 19-33

Riley, D.N. 1980 *Early Landscape from the Air* (Sheffield)

Riley, D.N. 1983 'The Frequency of occurrence of cropmarks in relation to soils' in G. Maxwell (ed) *The Impact of Aerial Reconnaissance on Archaeology* CBA Res. Rept. 49, 59-73

Robertson, A. 1970 'Roman Finds from Non-Roman Sites in Scotland' *Britannia* 1, 198-226

Round, A.A. 1990-91 Excavations on the Mansio Site at Wall (Letocetum) Staffs. 1972-78 (Wall Excavations Rept. No. 14) *Trans. Staffs. Archaeol. Hist. Soc.* 32, 1-78

Savory, H.N. 1956 'Some Sub-Roman Brooches from South Wales' in D.B. Harden (ed) *Dark Age Britain* (London: Methuen), 40-58

Scott, K. 1981 'Mancetter village: A First Century Fort' *Trans. Birm. Warwicks. Archaeol. Soc.* 91, 1-24

Sheffield Museum 1962 'Whitwell' *East Midlands Archaeol. Bull.* 5, 7

Sheppard, T. 1907 *Notes on a Collection of Roman Antiquities from South Ferriby in North*



*Lincolnshire* Hull Museum Publications 38 and 39

Snape, M.E. 1993 *Roman Brooches from North Britain* BAR Brit. Ser. 235 (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum)

Stead, I.M. 1971 'Yorkshire before the Romans: Some Recent Discoveries' in R.M. Butler (ed) *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkhsire* (Leicester Uni. Press), 21-44

Stead, I.M. 1976 *Excavations at Winterton Roman Villa and Other Sites in North Lincolnshire 1958-1967* DoE Archaeol. Rept. 9 (London: HMSO)

Stead, I.M. 1980 *Rudston Roman Villa* Yorks. Archaeol. Soc.

Stead, I.M. and Rigby, V. 1989 *Verulamium: the King Harry Lane site* (English Heritage/British Museum)

Sumpter, A.B. 1973 'Excavations on a Romano-British Enclosure Site in Edlington Wood (Site 8)' in H. Philips (ed) *Edlington Wood*, 37-40 (Doncaster Rural District Council)

Sydes, R. 1991 'Summaries of Work on Roman sites by the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit' *Yorks. Archeol. Soc. Roman Antiquities Sect. Bull.* 8, 2-9

Todd, M. 1969 'The Roman Settlement at Margidunum: Excavations 1966-8' *Trans. Thoroton Soc.* 73, 14-104

Wacher, J.S. 1969 *Excavations at Brough-on-Humber. 1953-61* Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 25

Walke, N. 1965 *Das römische Donaukastell Straubing-Sorviodunum* Limesforschungen Band 3 (Berlin)

Walker, J.S.F. 1986 *Roman Manchester. a Frontier Settlement* (Manchester: Greater Manchester Archaeol. Unit)

Walters, H.B. 1914 *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman lamps in the British Museum* (London B.M.)

Webster, J. 1992 'The Bronze Objects' in J. Hinchcliffe, J.H. Williams and F. Williams *Roman Warrington. Excavations at Wilderspool 1966-9 and 1976* Britannia Monograph 2, Dept. Archaeol. Uni. Manchester, 90-93

Wedlake, W.J. 1982 'The Excavations of the Shrine of Apollo at Nettleton. Wiltshire 1956-1971' Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 40

Wheeler, R.E.M. 1932 *Report on the excavation of the Prehistoric. Roman and Post-Roman site in Lydney Park. Gloucestershire* Soc. Ant. London Res. Rept. 9

White, G. 1961 'Steetly' *East Midlands Archaeol. Bull.* 4, 5

White, G. 1962 'Whitewell' *East Midlands Archaeol. Bull.* 5, 7

Wickenden, N.P. 1992 *The Temple and Other Sites in the North-Eastern Sector of Caesaromagus* Chelmsford Archaeol. Trust Rept. 9/CBA Res. Rept. 75

Wild, J.P. 1970 'Button-and-Loop Fasteners in the Roman Provinces' *Britannia* 1, 137-155

Wingfield, C. 1991 'A Collection of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Brooches and Other Finds from East Bedfordshire' *Bedfordshire Archaeology* 19, 112-19.

Woodfield, C. and Johnson, C. 1989 'A Roman Site at Stanton Low on the Great Ouse, Buckinghamshire' *Archaeol. J.* 146, 135-278

Workshop Archaeological Research Committee 1965 *Scratta Wood Iron Age Excavations 1959-1965* (Workshop)

Wrathmell, S. And Nicholson, A. 1990 *Dalton Parlours Iron Age Settlement and Roman Villa* Yorkshire Archaeol. 3 (W. Yorks. Archaeol. Service).

Zienkiewicz, J.D. 1986 *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Carleon: II the Finds* National Museum Wales.

## ANGLO-SAXON SUNDIALS IN RYEDALE

by John Wall

Some 38 Anglo-Saxon sundials have so far been identified in England, the majority (24) in the north. Of these no less than 14 are located in Yorkshire, and nine of them in Ryedale District alone<sup>1</sup> - a remarkable proportion. Again, of the important group of seven Anglo-Saxon sundials with inscriptions nationwide, no less than four are located in Ryedale. In this context the term 'Anglo-Saxon' requires some qualification. During this period Viking colonials from Ireland settled in north Yorkshire, where it is possible that they constituted a ruling elite, but still subject to Anglian influences. In consequence some sculptured stones from this period, including sundials, may properly be described as Anglo-Scandinavian. It is this circumstance which accounts for words with Scandinavian roots occurring in otherwise Old English inscriptions, such as those which accompany the most important of the Ryedale group of Anglo-Saxon sundials.<sup>2</sup>

The most recent comprehensive survey of Saxon sundials in the district was undertaken as long ago as 1928 by A. R. Green, as part of a larger study which covered the country as a whole.<sup>3</sup> The first, and still the most exhaustive investigation, partly because it was confined to the County of Yorkshire, was conducted by the Reverend Henry Haigh and published in 1879.<sup>4</sup> However, Haigh's conclusions must be treated with some reserve, affected as they were by the severe limitations of such scholarship in this field as was available at this early date, and by his own preconceptions. Between 1879 and 1928 studies of individual sundials appeared in isolated articles in learned journals, which dealt with Anglo-Saxon sculpture in general. This latter approach is exemplified in a series of four articles which W. G. Collingwood contributed to successive volumes of *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* between 1907 and 1915.<sup>5</sup>

- 
1. For the purpose of this paper, Ryedale is taken as co-terminous with the area covered by the local government District of Ryedale. However, there is historical justification for regarding Ryedale as a distinct entity since its boundary roughly corresponds to the Saxon Wapentake of Ryedale.
  2. For convenience 'Anglo-Saxon' is abbreviated to 'Saxon' hereafter.
  3. A.R. Green, 'Anglo-Saxon Sundials', *Antiq Journal* 8 (1928), 489-516. Subsequently cited as Green 1928.
  4. Revd. D.H. Haigh, *Y.A.J.* 5 (1879), 134-222. Subsequently cited as Haigh 1879.
  5. W.G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.* 19 (1907), 267-414.  
 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture at York', *ibid.*, 20 (1909), 149-213.  
 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the East Riding, with Addenda to the North Riding', *ibid.*, 21 (1911), 254-302.  
 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding, with Addenda to the North and East Ridings and York, and a General Review of the Early Christian Monuments of Yorkshire', *ibid.*, 23 (1915), 129-299.  
 Subsequently cited as Collingwood 1907, *et seq.*



The definitive work which covers the small but significant group of sundials with inscriptions is undoubtedly the monumental *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, Volume III, which deals with York and East Yorkshire, published in 1991.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless it seems to the present author that a fresh appraisal is called for, if only because of the limited scope and the distant date of most of the existing publications. However, there is another compelling reason why a fresh review of these relics is overdue. When one compares the on-site evidence today with the drawings and descriptions in Haigh's work, it is evident that in many cases erosion has had a very damaging effect in the interval, even to the extent of removing features which were quite distinct in 1879. In this context there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Haigh's illustrations, since most were reproduced from casts, rubbings or measurements taken *in situ*. They therefore constitute valuable evidence for the former existence of features which are now lost. By the same token, and because erosion continues to be a threat, this present record may serve as a bench-mark to indicate not only what has been lost to date, but what may be lost in future - unless steps are taken now to preserve these unique artefacts whose first purpose was to measure time itself.

Before we deal with each of the Saxon sundials in detail, it is necessary to distinguish the different systems of time measurement which they represent. Using this criterion we can identify six types of sundial, of which four are found in Ryedale - a remarkable circumstance in itself. All Saxon sundials can be allocated to one or other of these six basic types, although some exhibit slight modifications. The customary Saxon method of reckoning was to divide our 24-hour 'day' into eight equal periods called 'tide'. The word is derived from the Saxon term for time or hour. It has persisted in our archaic words 'noon-tide', 'morning-tide', 'evening-tide'. It was not until long after the Norman Conquest that it came to mean the periodic rise and fall of the sea. A typical sundial would consist of a semi-circle marked out on the stone block with an incised or raised outline, horizontal at the top. The gnomon would be a metal or wooden peg projecting at right angles to the face of the sundial and fixed in a hole in the centre of the semi-circle. (No original gnomon now remains *in situ*. They have all perished through time, and only the hole remains).

In its simplest and most basic form (Type 1, figure 1) the Saxon sundial has three equally spaced lines radiating from the centre which serve to mark out the four tides of day, each of three hours. That is from 6.00 a.m. to 9.00 a.m.; 9.00 a.m. to 12 noon; 12.00 noon to 3.00 p.m.; and 3.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m. Strictly speaking, the major divisions or 'hour-lines' - five in number if we include the two which make up the horizontal (the 'equinoctial') at the top of the semi-circle - mark out not the beginning but the middle of each tide.

The next step was to 'interpolate' secondary lines to mark the beginning and the ending of the tides, half way between the major lines (Type 2, figure 2). Taken

---

6. James T Lang (ed.) *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, 3 - York and East Yorkshire, British Academy (Oxford 1991). Subsequently cited as *A.S. Corpus*. The Ryedale epigraphical material is largely contributed by John Higgitt of Edinburgh University. This work is especially valuable for the detailed bibliographic references appended to each entry, which draw heavily on Elizabeth Okasha's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Oxford 1971). Subsequently cited as Okasha 1971.

## ANGLO-SAXON SUNDIAL TYPES

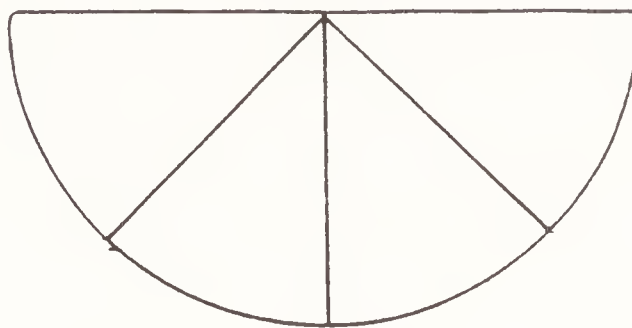


Fig. 1. Octaval - 8 x 3 hour Tides.

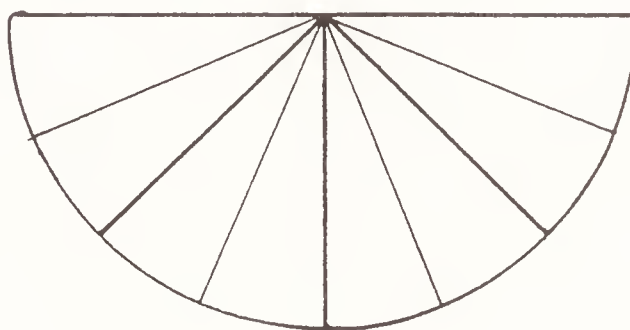


Fig. 2. Octaval - Half Tides.

together, therefore, these nine lines mark out divisions of one-and-a-half hours. Such composite dials can be seen at Kirkdale and Great Edstone in Ryedale. Sometimes the first of the secondary lines, representing 7.30 a.m. on a type 2 sundial is specially marked out. It was called the *daeg mael* and signified the beginning of the first tide of the day. The mark sometimes takes the form of a St Andrews cross near the extremity of the hour-line, as at Kirkdale. Occasionally the mark occurs without an accompanying line, as at Old Byland. 7.30 a.m. was the usual time for the Saxon breakfast. The word *daeg* means day, and *mael* a mark or point. *Daeg mael* could thus be construed as a synonym for the sundial itself. It also stands for a fixed time, as 'day-time'. The presence of the *daeg mael* indicates that an important church service was probably held at this time. This distinctively Saxon feature is an important indicator of the early date of any sundial on which it occurs.

The next logical step in an octaval system is to divide the half-tide into quarter-tides (Type 3, figure 3). Two such semi-circular sundials with 16 divisions have been observed in the past at Sinnington and at Lockton. It is apparent that the octaval system represented by types 1, 2, and 3 differs from, and is difficult to combine with, a duo-decimal system in which the 'day' (nominally from 6.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m.) is divided into 12 periods each of one hour, and the 'night' also (from 6.00 p.m. to 6.00 a.m.). However, the Saxons did practise, in parallel with the octaval system, a duo-decimal system which no doubt they inherited from their antecedents in the Roman empire, where it was the norm. (Type 4, figure 4.) Duo-decimal sundials are found in Ryedale at Bulmer, and in a modified form, at Kirkbymoorside and Weaverthorpe.



A more sophisticated type of Saxon sundial succeeds in combining the octaval and duo-decimal systems in one (Type 5, figure 5). It is exemplified in the sundial on the face of the freestanding early-8th-century cross at Bewcastle in Northumberland which is claimed as the oldest Saxon sundial extant in Britain.<sup>7</sup> Here secondary lines mark out the three hours within the major lines which mark the tides. Although no example of this composite type is found in Ryedale, it is important for an understanding of other types which do occur.

An important feature of the Bewcastle cross sundial is the marking of three of the five major hour-lines with what is literally a 'cross-bar' at their extremities. Since the five major lines represent 6.00 a.m., 9.00 a.m., noon, 3.00 p.m. and 6.00 p.m., they correspond to the so-called 'canonical hours' (*horae canonicae*), that is the times of the divine offices of the Early Church, arising from the Passion of Christ. They took place at three-hourly intervals throughout the 24-hour cycle. All monastic communities were obliged to attend services at these hours which were named, respectively, Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Vespers. The corresponding night-time offices were named Compline, Mattins (at midnight) and Lauds. At Kirkdale and Great Edstone the hour-marks corresponding to the five day-time canonical hours named above are marked with a cross-bar, suggesting that these were especially significant times and services. It is clear that Saxon sundials of this type were constructed primarily for the purpose of indicating the canonical hours, for which a cross-bar was peculiarly appropriate. Christopher Daniels has written: 'The Bewcastle dial is not only the first known prime-vertical sundial in Britain, constructed for the technical determination of time, but also the first ecclesiastical dial for the measurement of church services'. However, the presence of crosses on the major tide-lines need not necessarily signify a monastic foundation, for there is evidence that some non-monastic churches also observed the divine offices in the Saxon period.

There is a sixth method by which the Saxons measured time, examples of which are very rare. In this case the semi-circle is divided into ten units. For some time it was believed that the sundial at Old Byland in Ryedale which embodies this decimal system was unique. However, the author has seen and photographed another example from the parish church of Middleton St George by the River Tees in County Durham. (Type 6, figure 6).

All known Saxon sundials, with the exception of the one at Bewcastle, were fixed to the walls of churches which were aligned east-west. This meant that the sundials correctly faced due south, the shadow of the gnomon falling on the noon-mark in the middle when the sun crossed the meridian. However, with the possible exception of Kirkdale, none of our Saxon Ryedale sundials is now in its original position. This is because Saxon churches - among the earliest stone buildings in the land - were, almost invariably, extensively rebuilt to accommodate increased populations and changes in architectural style, first in the Norman and then in later periods of the medieval era. Many Saxon sundials were then re-sited in inappropriate situations which vitiated their original purpose as time-keepers. For example, the Kirkbymoorside sundial was relocated inside the church. This

---

7. Revd. D.H. Haigh, 'The Saxon Cross at Bewcastle', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, new series, 1 (1857), 149-95.

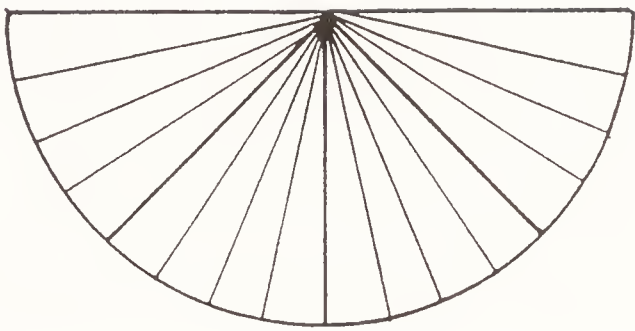


Fig. 3. Octaval - Quarter-Tides

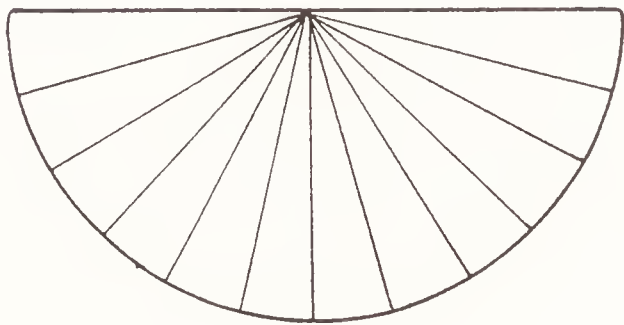


Fig. 4. Duodecimal

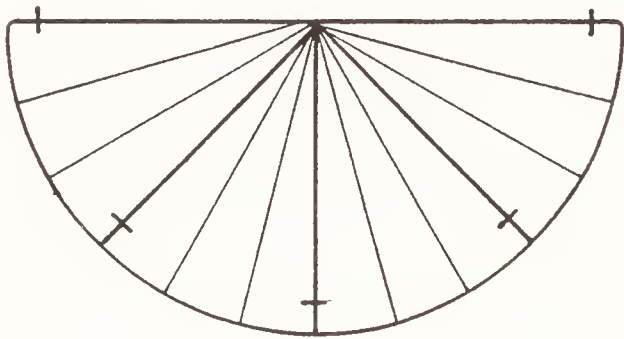


Fig. 5. Octaval and Duodecimal Combined

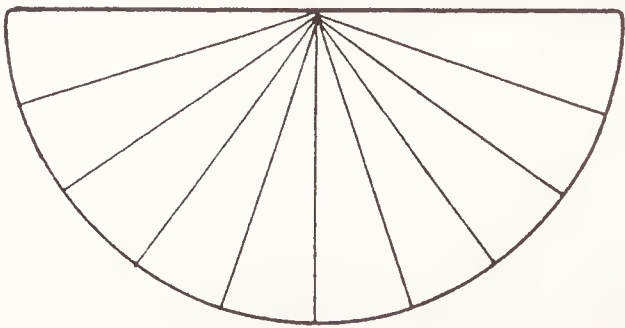


Fig. 6. Decimal

indicates, either that their original purpose was forgotten or, more likely, that they were superseded by the ‘mass’ or ‘scratch’ dial which held sway during the whole of the medieval era.



Nevertheless, a Saxon sundial incorporated in a church, or part of a church, of otherwise Norman architecture, need not necessarily imply a relocation from a previously existing Saxon church. This is due to a transitional phase known as the 'Saxo-Norman overlap'. In many places, and especially in the remoter parts of England, the Norman style of architecture did not take root immediately after the Conquest. Conservative building practices would ensure that features of the Saxon style persisted well into the 12 century. It is in this sense that a recognisably 'Saxon' sundial could be found contemporary with the Norman church in which it is set.

The schedule of known Saxon sundials in Ryedale is as follows:

### *Kirkdale Type 2 Figure 7a*

St Gregory's Minster is situated remote from any habitation in the valley of the Hodge Beck, which is here known as Kirkdale, one-and-a-half miles south-west of Kirkbymoorside. It has the distinction of housing what is acknowledged to be the finest Saxon sundial remaining in Britain, still *in situ* immediately over the south door of the church. It is also the largest of the important group of sundials with accompanying inscriptions. Despite the passing of so many centuries, both the sundial and its inscription are in a remarkable state of preservation - clear and distinct. This is due in no small part to a coat of plaster which protected them from the elements until their discovery in 1771,<sup>8</sup> and then by the erection of the present porch.

The stone on which the sundial and inscription are carved is very large - c.7' 8.5" wide and 1' 8.5" high. It is divided into three panels - the central one slightly wider than the other two. It is occupied by the sundial and part of the inscription, the bulk of which occupies the panels to the left and right - 'the longest message which has come down to us engraved in stone from Saxon England'. The inscription is picked out in modern paint and reads as follows: (The understood parts of abbreviated words are reconstructed in brackets)

+ORM.GAMAL.SVNA.BOHTE.S(AN)C(TV)S GREGORIVS.MINSTER.  
 DONNEHIT. ES ÆL.TO.BROCAN.7.TOFALAN.7HE HITLET.  
 MACAN.NE AN.FROM GRVNDE.XPE: S(AN)C(TV)SGREGORIVS.  
 INEAD ARD.DAGVM.C(V)N(I)G 7NTOSTI.DAGVM.EORL+  
 +7HA ARD.ME. ROHTE.7BRAND PR(AEPOSITV)S<sup>9</sup>

Rendered word for word in modern English this reads:

Orm Gamalson bought holy Gregory (his) minster  
 when it was all utterly broken and fallen and he it let

8. Discovered by Revd. William Dade, Rector of Barmston in the East Riding. See J.C. Brooke, 'An illustration of a Saxon inscription on the church of Kirkdale in the North Riding of the County of York', *Archaeologia* 5 (1799), 188-205. The earliest drawing of the stone after its discovery shows it in its present position. (B.L. MS Stowe 1024, fol. 199).

9. *A.S. Corpus*, pls. 568-73.

make new from (the) ground to Christ and holy Gregory  
 in Edward (his) days king and Tosti (his) days Earl +  
 + and Hawarth me wrought and Brand (the) priest

The lettering includes three Old English graphs - D, capital eth; thorn, th and wynn. The Tironian sign 7 consistently stands for *and* or *ond*. The *nomen sacrum* for the Latin *sanctus*, marked by a horizontal abbreviation bar - SCS - is used before GREGORIVS. The *nomen sacrum* for the name of Christ is the so-called Chi-Rho monogram (XP), that is the first two capital letters of the Greek name XPRISTOS transliterated in English CHRISTOS.<sup>10</sup> The monogram was first adopted by the Early Christians of the Roman Empire in times of persecution and its late appearance here represents an antiquarian survival. Otherwise the script is Old English, hence much of the inscription is intelligible to contemporary English speakers.

We can date this sundial and the church building of which it is a part, from evidence which the inscription itself provides. The Northumbrian Earl Tosti or Tostig was banished by his brother Harold Godwinson, King of England, in 1064, for the murder of Ulf, Grandson of Earl Siward, and one Cospatrick, and others.<sup>11</sup> Evidently there were two Orms - one the father of Gamal and the other Gamal's son who built the church. Since this was 'in the days of Tosti the Earl', the date must be after he became Earl in 1056, and before he was banished in 1064. The Domesday survey of 1086 recorded that 'Chirchibi' (Kirkbymoorside) had two churches, one of which was in the manor of Orm, a considerable local landowner (*cf.* North Ormsby in Cleveland). If this refers to Kirkdale, as seems probable, the other church, in the manor of Torbrand, would be Kirkbymoorside parish church.

The stone minster was evidently a rebuilding of an earlier church which had fallen into ruin when Orm bought it. (There is evidence of a general rebuilding of churches in the area immediately prior to the Conquest.) According to the inscription it was known in his day as St Gregory's Minster. At this time 'minster' is to be read as signifying 'chief church' or 'mother church' within a group of dependencies, and not (as some have formerly supposed) a monastery. Received opinion now is that in the northern Province monasteries withered on the vine by about 820, and that a parish structure was in place by the end of the 11th century. On this view, although Kirkdale was probably part of a large monastic estate in the 7th and 8th centuries (perhaps with Lastingham at its centre), by 1064 it would have become a secular parish church.<sup>12</sup> Moreover this rebuilt structure comes at the very end, the last ten years, of the 500-year Saxon period.

---

10. John Higgitt has pointed out that the use of a pair of points (:) after XPE rather than the single point used elsewhere was perhaps intended to give a special emphasis to Christ's name.

11. G.N. Garmonsway (transl.), *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, Everyman's Library No. 624 (London 1953). Subsequently cited as *A.S. Chronicle*.

12. I am indebted to James Lang for this insight. Although Bede's description of the place where St Cedd established his monastery in 659 - 'More suitable for the dens of robbers and haunts of wild beasts' - fits Kirkdale rather than Lastingham *as we know them today*, received opinion is no doubt correct in favouring Lastingham as the site. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (eds.), *Bede's History of the English Church and People (Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum)* (Oxford 1969), Latin 286, 288; English 287, 289. Subsequently cited as Colgrave and Mynors 1969.



Wealthy lay patronage of a 'secular' church may well account for some features which otherwise might be (incorrectly) assigned to a sizeable monastic foundation. For example, two finely-carved grave-slabs were removed from the west wall into the church early this century. One, slab (a), bears a fine sculptured cross, and the other, slab (b), carries an intricate interlace design with the tassels of a pall on the edges. Slab (a) has been attributed to King Ethelwald (died c.654) on the evidence of an inscription in runes - 'Cyning Oethilwald' - which was said to be visible in 1868.<sup>13</sup> Slab (b) has been attributed to St Cedd (died 664). There is no evidence, and certainly no visible epigraphy, which would corroborate either attribution.<sup>14</sup> Neither slab is contemporary with the supposed burials, since slab (a) is authoritatively dated to the late 8th /early 9th-centuries, and slab (b) to the early 9th century. That does not preclude the possibility that these sumptuous grave-slabs were later additions to the graves of persons of note -possibly King Ethelwald and St Cedd, paid for by wealthy lay patrons in the early 9th century. By 1064 Orm had succeeded as the wealthy lay patron of Kirkdale, where the sundial inscription is one of a group (including Great Edstone, *q.v.*), which seem secular rather than ecclesiastical in their concern to record the names of craftsmen and patrons. Probably few of the laity could read these texts. Wealthy layman, however, were now aspiring to see their names in stone. Part of the function of these later inscriptions was to serve as secular status symbols.<sup>15</sup>

The fact that the sundial features so prominently on what amounts to the dedication stone of the rebuilt church<sup>16</sup> indicates the importance attached to sundials and their function at this time. A short inscription is placed above the equinoctial - the horizontal - and completed round the left side of the circumference. It reads:

+ DIS IS DÆGES SOLMERCA + ÆT ILCUMTIDE +

- which may be translated 'This is (the) day's sun-marker at every tide' (or 'This the mark of the sun for each (canonical) hour'<sup>17</sup> - a sentence which neatly defines the function of a Saxon sundial. The five primary hour-lines extend almost to a double semi-circular border, except that which carries the *daegmael* (in the form of a saltire), which is also extended almost to the border.

---

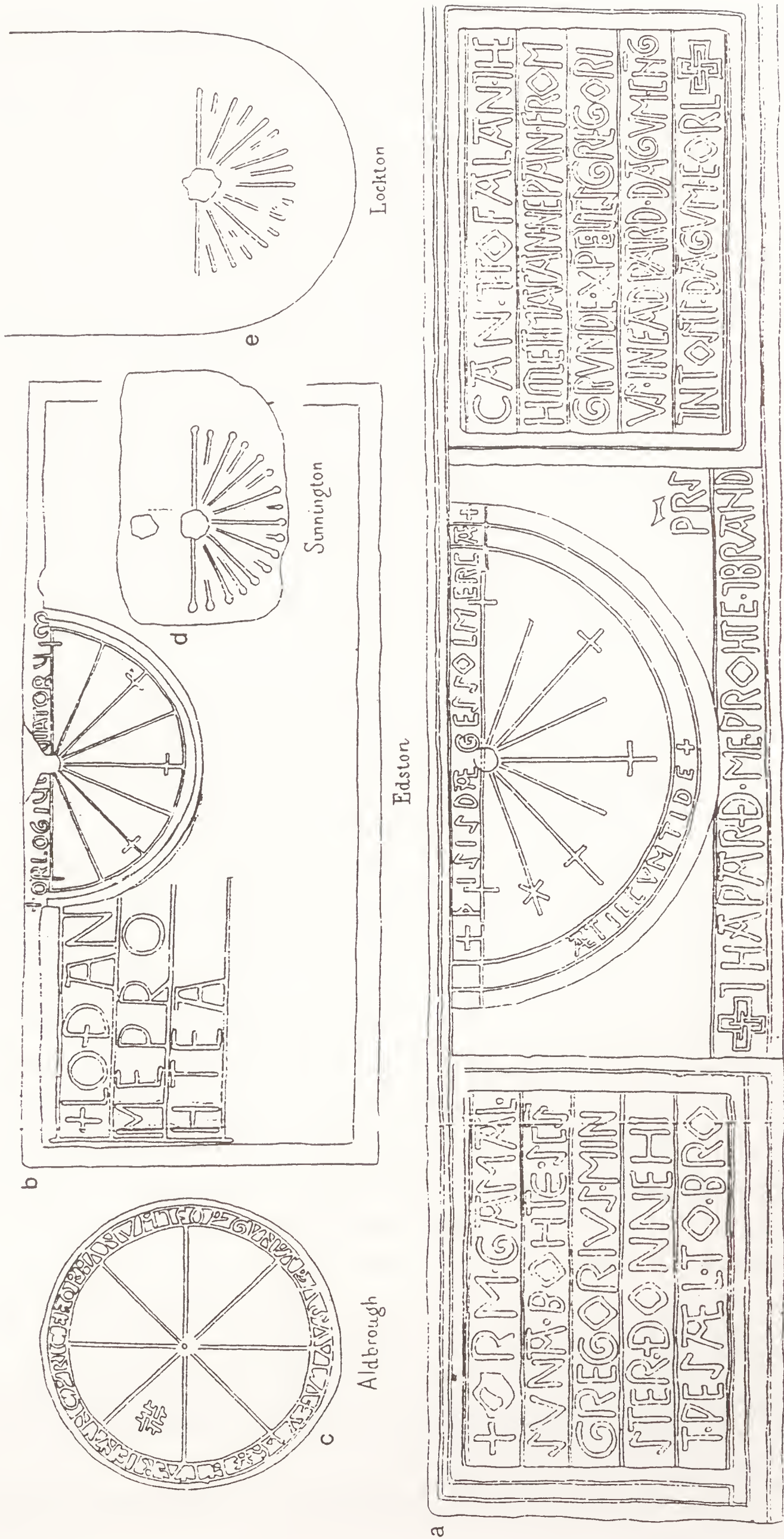
13. George Frank, *Ryedale and North Yorkshire Antiquities* (York and London 1888), 135, 142. Subsequently cited as Frank 1888. Frank quotes Haigh to the effect that the runes were still visible when they visited Kirkdale together in c. 1868. For the Ethelwald grave cover see fig. on 136. See also, for slab (a), *A.S.Corporis*, Kirkdale 7, 161-2, pls. 558-62 (pl. 559 after Frank 1888, 136); for slab (b), *ibid.*, Kirkdale 8, 162-3.

14. Nevertheless John Higgitt thought it proper to quote from Frank 1888, 137 as follows: 'Mr Haigh said "For my own part I am satisfied that this is the lid of the coffin of King Oethilwold (sic), and as Lastingham was to have been the place of his burial, that Kirkdale is the site of the monastery of St Cedd"'. *ibid.*, 162.

15. *ibid.*, 47.

16. John Higgitt confirms that the principal text at Kirkdale records and displays the same kind of information as does the dedicatory inscription at St Mary Castlegate in York, in which the church is also called a minster. (*ibid.*, 99-100). Unlike that inscription, however, it does not refer to an actual ceremony of consecration.

17. R.I. Page, 'How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England? The Epigraphical evidence', in P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (eds.), *England Before the Conquest: Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitlock* (Cambridge 1971), 165-81. Subsequently cited as Page 1971.





The presence of the *daegmael* and the crosses which mark out the canonical hours might indicate that the building on which the sundial was placed was a monastic church, except that there is no other evidence for a monastic foundation here, or indeed elsewhere in Yorkshire, in the 11th century. Therefore, if our Kirkdale sundial was erected *de novo* c.1064, it constitutes evidence for the continued observance of the divine offices in a secular parish church in the late Anglo-Saxon era.<sup>18</sup> However, there is another possibility: that the sundial of c.1064 was copied from an earlier sundial attached to the ruined building which Orm found 'utterly broken and fallen'. An earlier sundial would most probably be dated to the late 7th /8th centuries, when the church would be more likely to be under the liturgical influence of the then-existing monastery at Lastingham, of which it was a dependency. In such a context the observance of the canonical hours at Kirkdale would be more credible. If the sundial of 1064 is indeed a copy, it must be regarded as an antiquarian survival, and not in itself evidence for the observance of the divine offices by a secular parish priest at this late date. It also prompts the question: why was the old sundial, with its octaval system of time-measurement and the marking of the canonical hours, not brought up to date? The answer may lie in the innate conservatism of the northern Province at this time.<sup>19</sup> The bishopric established at Durham in 995 owned lands in North Yorkshire, where its writ may well have extended to influence even so remote a spot as Kirkdale.

The St Gregory of the inscription was that Pope Gregory (590-604) who despatched St Augustine on his celebrated mission to convert the English to the Roman (Catholic) observance of Christianity in 597. If the sundial of 1064 is a copy of an earlier dial it raises the possibility that the wording of the dedication 'to Christ and holy Gregory' was also copied from a dedication stone on an earlier building. That would reinforce other evidence for a cult of St Gregory in the late 7th/8th centuries. For example, there are pointed references to Gregory in the letters of Alcuin of York (c.735-804). In a letter to Pope Leo II written in 797, he seeks metropolitan status for 'my own country and city (i.e. York) according to canonical custom and the apostolic teaching of our evangelist the blessed St Gregory'.<sup>20</sup> In the *Life* of St Gregory by an anonymous monk of Whitby written c.713, the place in the abbey church where king Edwin was buried is described as 'on the south side of the altar dedicated in the name of the blessed Apostle Peter and east of the altar dedicated to St Gregory, which is in the same church'. (*ab oriente illius quod in hac ipsa sancto Gregorio est consecrata ecclesia*).<sup>21</sup> Bede records that after he was slain at the battle of Heathfield 'The head of King Edwin was brought to York and afterwards placed in the church of the Apostle Saint Peter...it was placed in the

---

18. Kirkdale is not alone in this respect. Other late Saxon sundials which to a greater or lesser degree mark the canonical hours occur at Great Edstone in Ryedale (q.v.), Bishopstone in East Sussex, Warnford in Hampshire and Daglinworth in Gloucestershire.

19. When Benedictine emissaries visited Durham, some time after the *Regularis Concordia* of c. 970, which enshrined the Benedictine Reforms initiated in England by St Dunstan and Ethelwold, they were startled to discover how far the diocese lagged behind. Its customary conservatism later led to much dragging of feet in the matter of reform.

20. Stephen Allott, *Alcuin of York, his life and letters* (York 1974), Letter 18, 27.

21. Bertram Colgrave (text, transl. and notes), *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge 1968), Latin 104, English 105.

chapel of the holy Pope Gregory (*positum est in portico sancti papae Gregorii*), from whose disciples he himself received the word of life'.<sup>22</sup> Finally, we may note the Viking-age church of St Martin cum Gregory in Micklegate, York, first mentioned in Domesday.<sup>23</sup>

The last sentence of the inscription occurs below the sundial: 'and Hawarth me wrought and Brand PRS'. Although this is a common Anglo-Saxon maker formula, it can be construed as referring either to the sundial itself - that is it was 'signed' by its makers - or to the entire minster. The lettering of the right-hand panel is much more compressed than the well-spaced lettering of the left-hand panel. Taken together with the awkward follow-on of the last line, removed from the right to the central panel, and the displacement of the last abbreviated word (PRS) above the line - all this suggests that neither Hawarth nor Brand had carefully planned his work in advance.

Recent literature on the Kirkdale inscription has read PRS for an abbreviation of the Old English PR(EO)S(T), priest, or the Latin PR(E)S(BYTER).<sup>24</sup> It also occurs, however, as an abbreviation for PR(AEPOSITV)S, Provost (literally 'commander'). In the monastic hierarchy a Provost was second in command to an Abbot, corresponding to our word Prior, which superseded Provost after the Norman Conquest.<sup>25</sup> If Kirkdale was not a monastic foundation c.1064 then Brand cannot have been its Prior and PRAEPOSITVS for PRS must be ruled out. However, although Brand was a common name at this time, it is perhaps significant that when Leofric, Abbot of Peterborough, died 'on the eve of All Saints, 31 October 1066...', the monks chose *Brand the Provost* as Abbot.<sup>26</sup>

The whole sentence 'and Hawarth me wrought and Brand PRS' is ambiguous and can be interpreted in two ways. First, it makes two statements: that Hawarth made the sundial (that is, he was the craftsman), and that Brand was the priest. The second interpretation is that both Hawarth (who was probably a craftsman and could have been a priest) and Brand the priest (acting as his assistant or instructor), together made the sundial. Higgitt has suggested that 'Brand was perhaps responsible for the drafting and laying out of the text, and perhaps too for the design of the sundial'.<sup>27</sup>

Brand is perpetuated in Brandsdale, the name of the valley for some miles upstream of Kirkdale. The Hodge Beck was known as the River Bran until comparatively modern times. The root of patronage or presentation to a living, called *dominium* under the feudal system because it originally belonged to the Lord of the Manor, could be bought and sold. The Kirkdale sundial has been described as 'a unique record of the purchase of the rights over a church' when it declares that Orm the son of Gamal 'bought' St Gregory's Minster. It has justly been described as the most remarkable and complete pre-Conquest sundial to survive, 'not least because its inscription names its carver, the patron saint, the priest, the landholder, and the earl'.

22. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, Latin 204, English 205.

23. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Yorkshire: York and The East Riding* London 1972, 120.

24. The abbreviation PRS is used on a crosshead from St Mary Bishopshill Junior at York where it stands for presbyter.

25. Haigh 1879, 150.

26. *A.S. Chronicle* for 1066, 199.

27. *A.S. Corpus*, 166.



*Great Edstone Type 2 Figure 7b*

Just over two miles from Kirkdale as the crow flies to the south-east, the parish church of Great Edstone sits on its hilltop site. The nave of the church is of the 13th century but unlike St Gregory's Minster there is little in the fabric to betray the presence of a Saxon church on the site. Except, that is, for the striking 11th century Saxon sundial over the south door, the position it would no doubt have occupied in the original church before its rebuilding.<sup>28</sup> The sundial has not had the benefit of a porch to shield it from the effects of the weather. As a consequence the outline and the accompanying inscription are not as crisp as the similar combination at St Gregory's.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless they are in a remarkable state of preservation. The stone on which the dial and the lettering are inscribed is similar in shape to that at St Gregory's, although somewhat smaller at 4' wide and 1' 9" high. Each has the sundial in the centre, but Great Edstone's is not divided into three panels.

The inscription in Old English - which, in contrast to St Gregory's, is very short - occurs immediately to the left of the sundial, and reads as follows:

+LODAN ME ROHTE A - Lothan wrought me a(nd)...

There are two features of note. First, short as it is, the wording and the lettering are almost identical to the similar 'speaking object' formula at St Gregory's - + HA ARD.ME. ROHTE. . . . even to the use of the same graphs. This suggests that they came from the same hand and that the inscribed stones originated in the same workshop. Apart from the common origin of the sundials, there is no other demonstrable connection between Kirkdale and Great Edstone.<sup>30</sup>

The second feature is the apparently incomplete nature of the inscription. The final letter A is probably the initial letter of 'and', in which case the existing inscription is part of a much longer statement which was initially planned to occupy the remaining surface of the stone, below and to the right of the sundial, which is now entirely blank. However, there are only three lines of ruling, of equal length. As at Kirkdale these served as guidelines for the lettering, and the third line would only accommodate at the most two more letters. Haigh drily observed that the inscription breaks off in the fourth word 'as if the writer had fallen from the scaffold on which he was working', or as if urgent business had called him elsewhere, from the middle of his work, and he had never returned. Less convincingly, Haigh also conjectured that the last letter A was the initial of some title of the writer.<sup>31</sup> The remaining space may originally have been intended to

28. The sundial was first recorded in its present location in 1817. G. Young, *A History of Whitby* (Whitby 1817), 747.

29. Haigh 1879, fig. opposite 135. *A.S. Corpus*, pls. 451-3. This drawing seems to be based on a cast, probably a paper 'squeeze' taken by the Revd. J.T. Fowler, which would, if well done, give much more detail. Frank 1888, 114-15.

30. John Higgitt argues that the Great Edstone inscription has more in common with one at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire than Kirkdale, and that it is evidence for southern epigraphic and manuscript influence in Yorkshire in the 11th century. *A.S. Corpus*, 47a, 135b. See also Okasha 1971, pl. 28 (Deerhurst), pl. 41 (Great Edstone).

31. Haigh 1879, 146-7.

carry information about the patronage or dedication of the church, as at Kirkdale.

Although nothing is known of *Lo an* the maker, this is a not uncommon Scandinavian name. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 1046 records: 'In this same year Lo an and Yrling came to Sandwich (in Kent) with twenty-five ships, and seized there indescribable booty, both in captives, and in gold and silver, so that no-one knew what it amounted to in all'.<sup>32</sup> Quite apart from the different spelling of the name this *Lo en* does not appear to have had any connection with Yorkshire. He was finally defeated and driven from Britain off the coast of Essex.

The sundial itself is similar in design to that at St Gregory's Minster, except that it lacks the *daegmael* mark, and all the tide and half-tide lines are carried through to and terminate at the inner of three concentric boundary lines. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the sundial, however, is the inscription above the horizontal equinoctial line. It reads:

+ ORLOGIVM VIATORVM - Wayfarer's Day-Mark (or Wayfarer's Clock).

These two words, of course, are Latin (*orlogium* is a form of *horologium*),<sup>33</sup> not Old English as on the accompanying inscription, and indeed *horologium* is specifically given as the equivalent to *daegmael* in the Glossary attached to Aelfric's Saxon Grammar.<sup>34</sup> Curiously, the so-called 'Book of Isidore', a manuscript preserved at Basel in Switzerland,<sup>35</sup> contains a semi-circular design very similar to that of the Great Edstone sundial, and written across the top is the identical formula *orlogium viatorum*. The manuscript is in Anglo-Saxon miniscule and has been dated to c.800. It has been attributed to an Anglo-Saxon centre on the continent, probably Fulda. The identical positioning of the formula in the Great Edstone sundial and the manuscript diagram argues strongly that they derive from the same insular tradition.<sup>36</sup> Like the inscription in a similar position over the Kirkdale sundial, *orlogium viatorum* provides a definition of its function. It also indicates by use of the word 'wayfarer' (for whose benefit it was created) that a highway passed close to the church from which it could clearly be seen.

### *Old Byland Type 6 Figure 8a*

The peregrinations of the group of Cistercian monks who finally settled at Byland - 'Bellaland' - between Ampleforth and Coxwold are well documented. They originated at Furness in Cumbria and moved successively to Calder, Cumbria in 1135, Hood in Ryedale, Old Byland nearby in 1143, which they found inconveniently close to Rievaulx Abbey, Stocking in 1147 -all in the Hambleton Hills - and finally to Byland in 1177. All were Norman foundations and yet the sundial at Old Byland parish church is Saxon - evidence for a prior Saxon foundation in the

32. A.S. Chronicle, 168.

33. A sundial at Orpington, Kent, may also have carried a form of the word *horologium*. (Okasha 1971, 105).

34. Aelfric 'The Grammarian'. (c .955 - c .1020). C.L. White, *Aelfric: A New Study of his Life and Writings*. Yale studies in English 2. (Newhaven Connecticut 1898).

35. Universitätsbibliothek F III 15a, fol. 23v. (Okasha 1971, 73).

36. *A.S. Corpus*, 135. The Basel diagram shows a semi-circular dial divided into 12 segments, one for each month, and contains figures corresponding to the length in feet of a standing man's shadow at each hour of the day.



vicinity. It may have been for this reason that the Cistercians moved to Old Byland in 1143, even allowing for the fact that the site of their settlement lay one-and-a-quarter miles to the north-east of the church. The village itself acquired its modern name retrospectively after the monks moved on to Byland in 1177.

There was certainly an early Norman church here, but the sundial cannot have belonged to that. It is not now in its most probable original position over the south door, but most inappropriately re-located upside down as a quoin, facing east, in the south-east corner of the tower which was built onto the church in the 18th century. The mason responsible either had no knowledge of, or scant regard for, its true purpose. Alternatively, the sundial may already have become obsolete because by the standards of the day it was an inconvenient and inaccurate means of telling the time from the sun. We have already noted that the Old Byland sundial was almost unique in adopting the decimal system of time measurement. Norman lords, and no doubt their church builders, practised the duodecimal system, and that may be the reason why this redundant Saxon relic was relegated to the status of a mere building stone.

The sundial is of the usual semi-circular shape, inscribed on a stone measuring 1' 5" wide and 12.5" high. The two concentric lines which mark out the circumference are infilled with an elaborate Greek key pattern, or meander. The two halves which make up the horizontal equinoctial line, now separated by the hole for the missing gnomon, indicate 6.00 a.m. to the left and 6.00 p.m. to the right *by our reckoning*. In between there are four equally spaced primary lines which divide this half-day into five units each of 2 hours 24 minutes measured by the duodecimal system. All are 'crossed' at their termination. Each of the five sectors is sub-divided into two equal parts. Reading clockwise from the right: the first sector is divided by the termination of a horizontal underlining part of the inscription; the second by a subsidiary radial line which dies away towards the centre; the third by a primary 'crossed' line which represents the noon meridian; the fourth by a subsidiary radial line which also dies away towards the centre; and the fifth by what is now a very indistinct subsidiary radial line. So ten divisions are in some way indicated, each of 1 hour 12 minutes by our reckoning. When a cast was made in 1870<sup>37</sup> what appeared to be a final *daegmael* mark could be discerned in its proper place, that is at 7.30 a.m., but 'freestanding' on account of the omission of any hour-line at this point on a decimal sundial.

An inscription runs across the top which is awkwardly completed by placing the last two underlined words below the rest, but on the right so as to prevent the marking out of the first of the decimal divisions by a radial line. This indicates that the inscription was completed before the subsidiary lines were cut. The reconstructed inscription reads:

+ SVMARLEDAN.HVSCARL.ME.FECIT.

---

37. Haigh 1879, 140-1, fig. opposite 141; Frank 1888, 114-6, fig. on 114; 19th century rubbings in B.L. MS Add. 3758, nos. 31-32 (reproduced in A.S. Corpus, pls. 729, 730); Collingwood 1907, 379, fig. on 376; Green 1928, 507-8, fig. on 508. See also Collingwood 1915, 288-9; Okasha 1971, 104-5, pl. 98. Although Haigh 'discovered' the Old Byland sundial in 1846, the cast was made later, in 1870, by the Revd. J.T. Fowler who accompanied him to the site. This was probably a paper cast or 'squeeze' similar to that taken at Great Edstone. (See n. 29 above).

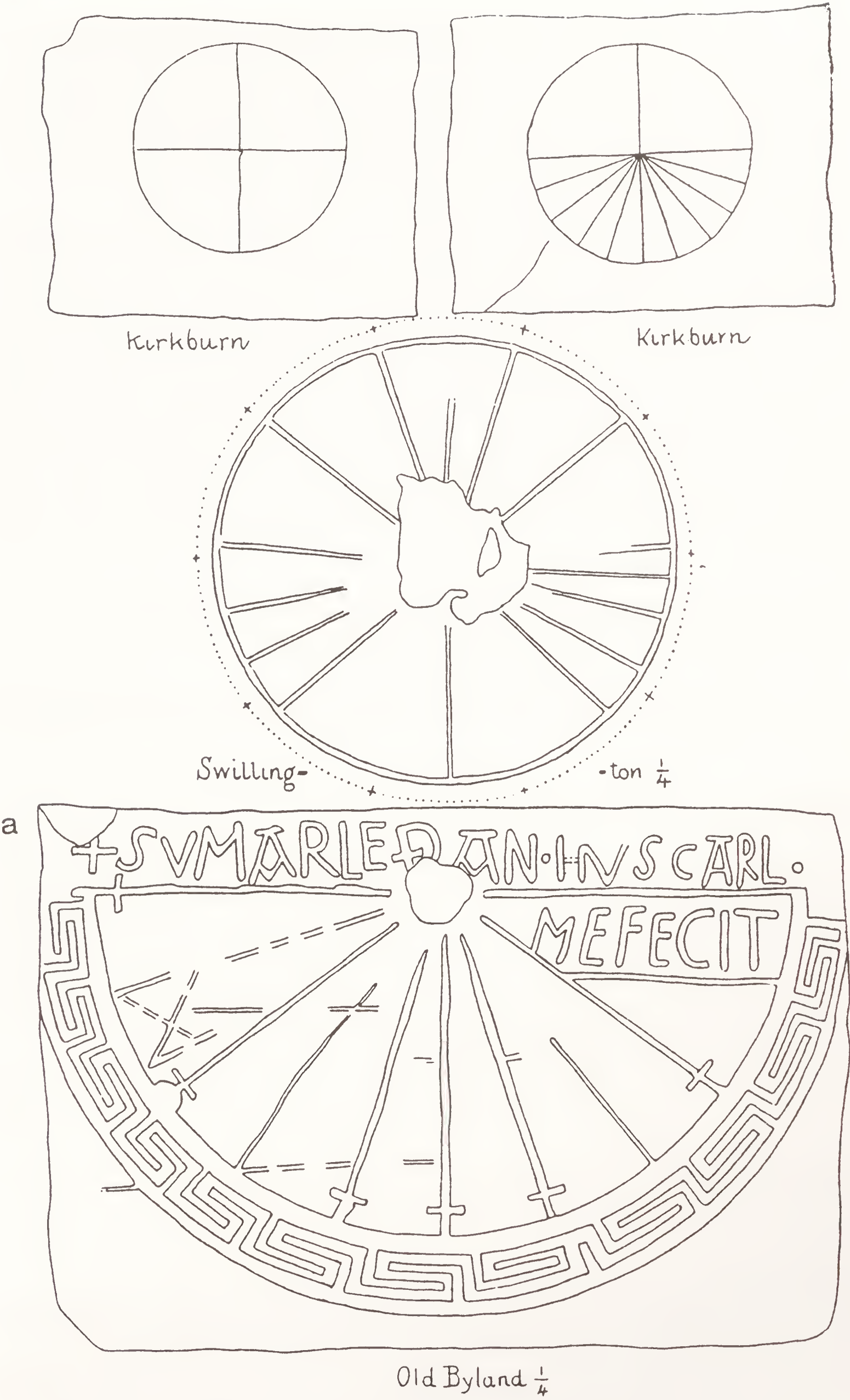


Fig. 8. - A.



Until the cast was made in 1870 the inscription was difficult to decipher because of the breaking away of the stone in the centre where the gnomon had been fixed. Today it is quite indecipherable in parts because of the further erosion which has taken place. ME FECIT, the Latin maker formula, is the equivalent of the Old English ME WROHTE of Kirkdale and Great Edstone, 'although it is possible that it carried the sense of founding or commissioning rather than making'.<sup>38</sup>

SVMARLEDAN is believed to be the genitive or dative of a Norse personal name Sumarle i, meaning summer voyager, but Anglicised. (cf. Lo *an* at Great Edstone).<sup>39</sup> Both Sumarle i and Huscarl appear as Norse personal names elsewhere in the North of England, but *huscarl* also signifies a free household retainer, a member of a king's or an earl's bodyguard. It is so employed in a passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 1065: 'All the thegns in Eoforwicscire went to Eoforwic, and there slew all the huscarls of Earl Tostig'.<sup>40</sup> (See also the account of Earl Tostig under Kirkdale, above.) In Florence of Worcester's account of the same events Earl Tostig's huscarls were Danes.<sup>41</sup> If Sumarlethan was a huscarl he would be a man of considerable rank and quite capable of founding the church for which this sundial was intended. The inscription is therefore to be translated either:

'For Sumarlethi Huscarl made me' (Huscarl as a proper name), or

'Sumarlethi's Huscarl made me' (Huscarl as a title).<sup>42</sup>

In either case the sundial can be dated to c.1065, contemporary with the Kirkdale sundial.

#### *Weaverthorpe* Type 4 (Modified) Figure 9a

Weaverthorpe lies deep in the Yorkshire Wolds, about 12 miles east of Malton. The parish church of St Andrew, which overlooks the village from an isolated site to the north, is largely Norman in style. However, there are two features which indicate that it was built very early in the Norman period, during the so-called Saxo-Norman overlap. One is the tall, narrow arch from the nave to the tower. The other is the celebrated 'Saxon' sundial in the tympanum over the south door.<sup>43</sup> As at Kirkdale it has been sheltered from the elements by a later porch.

Immediately above the sundial is an inscription. This occupies the full width of a mutilated slab of dark yellow freestone 1' 2" wide and 12.5" high. The stone rests, not quite centrally, immediately on the lintel of the door. The four line Latin inscription reads:

38. *A.S. Corpus*, 46.

39. Page 1971, 175, n. 3.

40. *A.S. Chronicle*, 190.

41. B. Thorpe (ed.), *Florence of Worcester's Chronicon* (London 1948).

42. The inscriptions at Kirkdale, Great Edstone and Old Byland seem secular rather than ecclesiastical in their concern to record the names of craftsmen and patrons. (*A.S. Corpus*, 47).

43. John Bilson, 'Weaverthorpe Church and its Builder', *Archaeologia*, 72 (1921-22 = 2nd series 22), 51-70, figure 2 on 55. Subsequently cited as Bilson 1922.

+ IN HONORE.SCI.ANDREA  
 APOSTOLI.HEREBERTVS  
 WINNTONIE.HOC.MONASTERI  
 VM.FECIT.IN.TEMPORE.RE<sup>44</sup>

That this represents only part of the original inscription is indicated by the barely discernible presence of the truncated remains of some letters from a line immediately above, where the stone has been ruthlessly cut at some stage in its history. The four intact lines may be translated: ‘+ in honour of St Andrew the Apostle, Herbert of Winchester made this monastery (i.e. church) in the time of King (?)’.

The use of Latin rather than Old English script, and MONASTERIVM rather than MINSTER, indicate a later date for the sundial’s construction than the Kirkdale example. Although excavations in 1960 revealed the foundations of a manor house east of the church, and contemporary with it, no monastic remains have come to light. Given its historical context, MONASTERIVM is therefore to be interpreted ‘Mission Church’, equivalent to the meaning which we assigned to MINSTER in the earlier inscription from Kirkdale.<sup>45</sup>

As at St Gregory’s Minster, the wording enables us to date both the sundial, and by implication the church building in which it was set. Moreover at Weaverthorpe as at Kirkdale, the inscription reflects, as it also reinforces, details of both local and national history which we have from other sources. In 1108 the Manor of Weaverthorpe, together with a large amount of land in the district, was sold by the Archbishop of York, Thomas II (1109-1119), to Herbert the Royal Chamberlain during the former’s visit to the court of King Henry I (1100-1135) at Winchester.<sup>46</sup> No doubt the church was built soon after Herbert purchased the estate. His son was William Fitz-Herbert - St William of York. It is probable that he came north to Weaverthorpe from his Winchester home, to manage his father’s newly-purchased estate and to supervise the building of the church. That being so, he would be responsible, if not for the wording, then certainly for the placing of the sundial as a dedication on the newly-completed church. Soon after he was ordained to the priesthood, he became Treasurer of York Minster and Archdeacon of the East Riding *c.*1130. In 1143 he was consecrated the 29th Archbishop of York by his uncle Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester. He died in 1154 after a precarious tenure of his Archbishopric, much of which was spent in exile, and was canonised

44. *ibid.*, figure 3 on 58. Copied from Collingwood 1911, figure on 275. The reversed middle stroke of the N’s is unusual but not unique. It occurs, for example, on the seal of Ranulf Flambard, Bishop of Durham 1099-1128. See C.H. Hunter-Blair, ‘Durham Seals’, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd series, 14 (1913), 440, pl. 3110.

45. *Minster* also occurs at St Mary Castlegate, York - see note 16 above. There are precedents for the use of Latin in Saxon sundial inscriptions, as in OROLOGIVM VIATORVM at Great Edstone, and ME FECIT at Old Byland. The latter is the Latin equivalent of ME PROHTE as used at Kirkdale and Great Edstone. The letter forms are similar, except that some in the Weaverthorpe inscription employ line-serifs.

46. Bilson 1922, 60, ns. 7,8. Before 1098 a *Herebertus camerarius regis de Winton*, (with others), attests a restitution to Westminster by Robert the Dispenser. This confirms the Herebertus Wintonie of the Weaverthorpe inscription. See J. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 146, no. 27.



in 1227. It was probably during his tenure of the See of York that his family gave the church at Weaverthorpe to the monks of Nostell Priory near Wakefield.

In 1879 Haigh reconstructed the fragmentary letters of the missing line to read **LIT OSCETVLI ARCHIEPISCOPI**.<sup>47</sup> Even the rubbing made then hardly bears such an ambitious construction. It is more a tribute to his enthusiasm than a reflection of his scholarship. Oscetyl was consecrated Archbishop of York in 950, but only acceded in 956 on his translation from the bishopric of Worcester. Haigh also read the last word of the inscription as **REGN**, which he expanded imaginatively if somewhat unconvincingly to **REGN(ALDI REGIS)**. That is **RAGNALD GUTHFRITHSON**, briefly ruler of the Scandinavian kingdom of York 943/944, in which latter year he was banished. Oscetyl and Ragnald therefore were not contemporaries at York in any case, unless one supposes that Ragnald returned to the kingdom at some time after his exile, which is highly improbable.

In 1911 W.G. Collingwood carefully examined and copied the inscription.<sup>48</sup> He found nothing in the fragmentary remains of letters in his day to justify Haigh's reconstruction and conclusions. '... the connection of this inscription with Archbishop Oscetyl and King Ragnald, on which so much has been built, is illusory.' That judgement still holds good. Nevertheless, we would give much to be able to correctly reconstruct the missing line or lines on the upper part of the sundial stone which has been cut away. Who perpetrated this act of cultural vandalism, and why?

When the architect G.E. Street restored the church for Sir Tatton Sykes in 1872, he replaced a pre-existing porch with the present one. In the process a beam which supported the roof of the old porch was removed. This beam rested on top of the sundial stone, which in turn rested on top of the stone lintel. It is clear therefore that when the first porch was erected the top of the sundial stone was ruthlessly cut off to make way for the butt of the beam. Regrettably, what happened to that discarded piece of stone with its crucial evidence we may never know. When the new porch was substituted in 1872 and the redundant beam was removed, the gap thus exposed above the mutilated sundial stone was infilled with another stone of similar size, but one which differs in colour and texture from the rest.<sup>49</sup> Since it corresponds to the depth of the missing inscribed piece of the sundial stone, we can calculate that the latter would have contained two lines of an inscription, preceding the extant portion.

It only remains to elucidate the abrupt termination **RE** (- even the last letter, **E**, is incomplete). There is a strong presumption that the word originally intended was **REGIS** and not Haigh's reconstruction **REGN**. (Although there is just room enough on the stone for these letters, Haigh allowed that even in 1879 this part of the inscription was indistinct).

When the stone was mutilated, there would be no reason to cut it in two places, at the bottom as well as at the top. It is therefore probable that the sundial has always rested on the lintel, either in its present position or in the true centre very close by. Yet **REGIS** clearly was not meant to be the end of the inscription. Since it

47. Haigh 1879, 145, fig. opposite 144.

48. Collingwood 1911, 275-6, fig. on 275.

49. Bilson 1922, 58, n. 1. Bilson's informant was James Bayley, to whom the information was relayed when he first visited Weaverthorpe after the restoration. See also note 52 below.

Pl. III

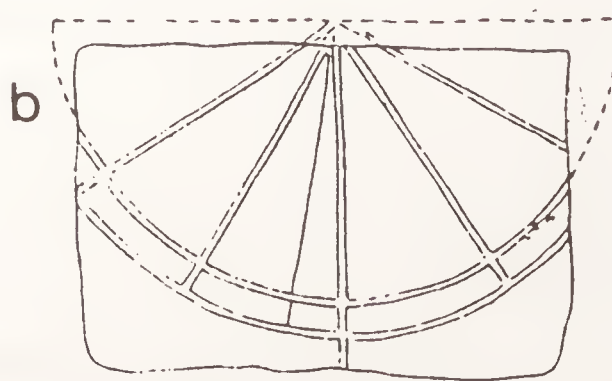
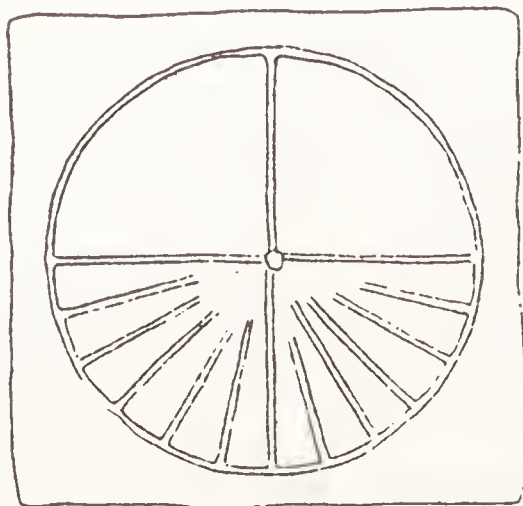


Fig. 9. A & B.



could not be contained below for the reasons just given, was it ever concluded, and if so where? There is some evidence - for example the splitting of the word MONASTERI-VM - that as at Kirkdale the sculptor had not carefully pre-planned his work. It was W.G. Collingwood who first suggested that whilst the carver seems to have meant to carve REGIS, 'he stopped before the E was completed as the Great Edstone carver stopped: there has been no carving after that, unless the two parallel strokes at the end of the line are more than accidental scratches, which is doubtful'.<sup>50</sup>

It has also been suggested that when the carver reached this point he completed the sentence in the only remaining space - an upper margin above the missing first part of the inscription. An alternative theory, and equally unlikely, is that the inscription was continued on a stone which is now missing *below* the sundial, which was cut and *lowered* to rest on the level of the lintel so as to make room for the butt of the beam.<sup>51</sup>

If the stone was indeed mutilated *in situ* it betrays a profound ignorance of the nature and significance of the inscription at the time. However, Weaverthorpe was not alone in that respect, as we have seen. We cannot read back our present knowledge and appreciation of Saxon sundial inscriptions as if they obtained in all those periods in the past when rebuilding took place.

As to the sundial itself, its date is fixed at some time between 1108-1114, the term of office of Archbishop Thomas II, or slightly later. It represents the duo-decimal system of time measurement, which accords with the Early Norman period of its construction. The lines which mark the Saxon tides are therefore present, but they are not especially marked out with a cross-bar (with the exception of the noon-mark), whereas the bi-hourly lines are so marked. The prominence given to every bi-hourly interval is a feature of many post-Conquest sundials - for what reason is unclear, unless it was a purely ornamental device.

The hour-lines terminate at the inner of two concentric semi-circles. The bronze stump of the gnomon still remains in the centre hole. A publication of 1894 includes drawings of three inscribed stones which were then in the ringing chamber of the tower. One incorporates what appears to be the outline of a Saxon sundial with two concentric circles on which all the bi-hourly lines of a 24 hour day-night are inscribed, with the exception of the diameter which would have marked 8.00 a.m. and 8.00 p.m. Could this have been a discarded trial-piece for the existing sundial?

The remaining two of the six Saxon sundials with inscriptions extant in Britain occur at Bishopton in Sussex - the single personal name + EAD/RIC - and at Aldbrough in Holderness in the East Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>53</sup> Significantly this last is only 25 miles as the crow flies from Weaverthorpe. The inscription being translated reads 'Ulf caused a church to be built for himself and for the soul of Gunwaru'.

50. Collingwood 1911, 275.

51. Green 1928, 513.

52. James Bayley, *Four Churches in the Deanery of Buckrose* 1894. James Bayley was the son of the Revd. T. Bayley, vicar at the time of Haigh's visit.

53. For Aldbrough see Haigh 1879, fig. opposite 135; Green 1928, 511 A.S. Corpus, 123-4, pl. 418.

*Kirkbymoorside* Type 4 (Modified) Figure 9b

The sundial at Kirkbymoorside is not found in its original location but inside the church built into the east splayed jamb of a window-opening in the south aisle. It is probable that the re-location took place when the church was restored by Giles Gilbert Scott in 1874-75. Thus, although it is of the bi-hourly type, two of the hour-lines have been affected by chiselling to make it match the new work. One is almost obliterated, the other partly so. A faint radial line, no more than a scratch, occurs about  $7\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  from the meridian line, that is at about 11.30 a.m. Haigh fancifully concluded that this represents the only remaining secondary line of a 'Chaldean' system incorporating 36 divisions for a day-night, the rest having been obliterated.<sup>54</sup> That is highly improbable, and the true explanation must await further research. It may be no more than a first mistaken 'trial' or possibly a superficial crack in the surface of the stone. Two inscribed semi-circular lines constitute the border of the dial as at Weaverthorpe. All the bi-hourly lines terminate in the outer semi-circle with the exception of the meridian line which extends beyond it. No doubt this sundial derives from a Saxon church on the same site, for which there is additional evidence in the presence of an assembly of Anglo-Saxon sculpture now housed in the Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole.

*Bulmer* Type 4

Bulmer lies two miles south-west of Castle Howard and for long formed part of its extensive estates. The parish church which serves the village and the mansion alike is dedicated to St Martin. Much of the present fabric is Saxo-Norman overlap of the 11th century, that is the nave with herringbone masonry, the tall narrow blocked north doorway, two small south windows, and the lower part of the chancel north wall. Of this date also is the head of a 12th century wheel cross, and the sundial. The nave south wall presents a confusing picture of a variety of window shapes and tracery, haphazardly arranged. There are no less than three sundials, situated in relation to these windows as follows.

First a modern sundial just below the moulded corbel-table, to the right of a 14th /15th century two-light square-headed window, the middle one of three windows in an upper 'clerestory' stage. Second, a mass-dial on the left-hand jamb of a single-light square-headed window slightly lower to the east, inserted in the 18th century. The lower range consists of five windows of widely differing dates, of which two are plain single-light windows of the 11th century, one each on either side of the south door. The third, Saxon sundial occurs, however, not in association with these, but inscribed on one of two blocks of limestone which form part of the left-hand jamb of a three-light square-headed window of the 15th century, immediately to the right of the easternmost 11th century window. It is therefore clearly not in its original position. The dial is a half-circle, about 12 inches in diameter, of the duodecimal type, bordered by two concentric semi-circles as at

---

54. Haigh 1879, fig. opposite 144.



Kirkbymoorside. The hour-lines are clearly inscribed, and the outer semi-circle is accented on both sides of the meridian line to produce a cross-bar.<sup>55</sup>

Two of the three remaining Saxon sundials in Ryedale are badly eroded, and one is lost. Fortuitously, we have a good idea of what form they originally took from drawings and observations made *in situ* a century ago.

### *Wharram-le-Street Type 2*

Wharram-le-Street lies on the line of a Roman road about 6 miles south-east of Malton (DERVENTIO). The church, dedicated to St Mary, has an Anglo-Saxon nave, tower and west doorway, as is indicated by their proportions. Much of the decoration, however, is Norman, pointing to the so-called Saxo-Norman overlap. John Bilson, in 1923, was the first to compare the architecture with the priory church of St Rule (St Regulus) adjacent to the cathedral of St Andrews in Fife. He concluded that the same mason may have built both.<sup>56</sup> He would also probably have been responsible for the sundial, which was first described by W.G. Collingwood in 1915.<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately, the few details he volunteers are somewhat vague and ambiguous: ‘. .the dial-stone built into the tower of this church (is) about 15 feet from the ground’. No doubt it was on account of the sundial’s inaccessibility that Collingwood was unable to inspect and describe it more clearly, other than to remark that it was about 3 feet long and about 15 inches broad. It is unclear whether these measurements refer to the sundial itself, or the stone on which it was inscribed. Although the sundial was ‘in shape like that at Londesborough’, we cannot infer that it was of the same type because ‘no rays are visible from below’. Londesborough lies about 13 miles almost exactly due south of Wharram-le-Street. The sundial there is still to be seen built into the typanum of the south door of the church, together with a Saxon cross-head, as indeed it was described and figured by Collingwood in 1911.<sup>58</sup> It is a type 2 sundial, but considerably modified. The only circumstantial evidence that the two sundials may have been of the same type is the proximity of the two churches, which might suggest that their sundials came from the same hand. That Wharram-le-Street’s was probably a type 2 sundial is confirmed by Green’s detailed observations in 1928: ‘The dial is in about the middle of the south wall of the tower...It is a distinct piece of sculpture and consists of rather more than half a circle, a style hole, and at least two lines. Unfortunately the stone is broken away in the middle, but the upper and lower portion of the fracture on the dexter side probably represent portions of two other lines. The upper line on the sinister side seems also present in parts and *the intention of the maker seems to have been to mark the tides and the half-tides*’ (italics mine).

55. George Frank, *Guide to Ryedale and District* (York and London 1895), 69. Subsequently cited as Frank 1895.

56. John Bilson, ‘Wharram-le-Street Church, Yorkshire and St Rule’s Church, St Andrew’s’, *Archaeologia* 73 (1922-23 = 3rd series 23), 55-72. See also Stewart Cruden, *St Andrew’s Cathedral* (H.M.S.O., Edinburgh 1950), 7. ‘On the literary evidence the church known today as St Regulus’ Tower was built between 1127 and 1144. In certain architectural features it so closely resembles the 12th century church of Wharram-le-Street, as to force the conclusion that the same school of Yorkshire masons was employed on both’. There is no corresponding sundial, however, on St Regulus’ Tower. Haigh did not record any sundial at Wharram-le-Street in 1879.

57. Collingwood 1915, 260.

58. Collingwood 1911, 262-3, fig. on 262.

Today, only a style hole remains to betray the location of the sundial: all its features appear to have entirely eroded away.<sup>59</sup>

### *Sinnington Type 3 Figure 7d*

The parish church of Sinnington, about three miles east of Kirkbymoorside, overlooks the village from an eminence to the north. The sundial here has almost entirely eroded away, that at Lockton a further 6½ miles to the north-east is rather better preserved. That they were identical in form and of a type unique in England we know from drawings reproduced by Haigh in 1879.<sup>60</sup> Much of the fabric of the present church at Sinnington, including the west and south doorways, is Norman of the 12th century. However, there is evidence of a Saxon church on the site, notably many Anglo-Scandinavian pieces of sculpture, including crosses built into the walls, and the blocked west doorway. The stone on which the sundial was carved is found about five feet to the left of this doorway and about seven feet from the ground - clearly not in its original position. Haigh writes: 'It had an inscription of which I can only distinguish faintly the last words, 'MERGEN FERN', "morning-evening"'.<sup>61</sup> (No such inscription is visible today, although there is certainly room for one on the stone immediately above the equinoctial line of the dial.) His drawing indicates a dial on which the lines for the tides and the half-tides are complete, whilst the quarter-tides are marked by partial lines never more than half a radius in length. The end of each line is expanded to form a small circle which must represent a pit or hole, some of which, together with the hole for the gnomon, can still be discerned in the surface of the stone today. It is this division of the day-night into 32 sections or quarter-tides which is unique in England.

### *Lockton Type 3 Figure 7e*

Haigh's drawing of 1879 of the Lockton dial is identical in every respect to the Sinnington dial, except that the lines do not have rounded extremities. In his day it was 'built into the wall of a cottage . . . at the rounded end of a rough block of stone, 4 foot 3 inches long, 1 foot 6 inches broad, and 1 foot 3 inches thick'. He concludes somewhat enigmatically '(it) can never have been a mural dial although there are no radiations below the equinoctial line'.<sup>62</sup>

George Frank, writing some 16 years later in 1895, states unequivocally of Lockton: 'An ancient dial stone, *in the chancel wall, discovered by the writer* (italics mine), is worth noting, having been in use when the day was divided into eight parts'.<sup>63</sup> Yet Haigh acknowledged that he was indebted to George Frank for his information on both the Lockton and Sinnington dials. In fact the dial can still be discerned, as Frank observed, in the church chancel wall. The discrepancy can be resolved by supposing that at some time after Haigh's observation, the stone on which the dial was carved was removed from the cottage wall and re-positioned in the church. Its

59. Green 1828, 504.

60. Haigh 1879, figs. opposite 135.

61. *ibid.*, 159. See also *A.S. Corpus*, 229, pl. 908 (reproduced from Haigh's drawing); Frank 1888, 154; Collingwood 1907, 386, n. 5.

62. Haigh 1879, 159.

63. Frank 1895, 87-8.



measurements agree with those given by Haigh. It is placed horizontally with the dial at its eastern end so that the hole for the gnomon is about 4 feet from the ground and about 2' 6" to the left of the sill of the single lancet window in the chancel south wall. Although the area to the left of the meridian is badly eroded, the eight hour-lines to the right are clearly visible.

In the two accounts the descriptions of the dial itself differ somewhat. Frank has eight divisions to the day whereas Haigh has 32. However, the two are not incompatible. For example, in connection with the Sinnington dial, Frank quotes with approval, *verbatim*, Haigh's elucidation of the unique system which the two dials embody: 'here, then, we are introduced to a system of time-division - day-night into eight equal parts, subdivided sixteen, and again subdivided thirty-two - quite distinct from that of the primitive Chaldeans (*sic*) into twelve . . .'. Curiously, in the original, the extract from which Frank quotes includes the 'cottage wall' location of the Lockton dial. It is reasonable that Frank should have omitted this from his work of 1888, which does not deal with Lockton, but its absence from his work of 1895 which does, can only be explained by his certain knowledge that it was incorrect.

Assuming that the two descriptions are of one and the same Saxon sundial, where did it originate? Lockton church, St Andrew and St Giles, does not incorporate any other Saxon or even Norman features. It is a 13th-century chapel with mainly 15th -century and some later alterations and additions. However, at the bottom of a steep valley which separates Lockton village from its neighbour, Levisham, there stand the remains of the isolated, disused church of St Mary by Levisham Beck. Significantly, there was found in association with this church two parts of an Anglo-Scandinavian gravestone with a large sculpted dragon in the so-called Jellinge style of *c.* 940. At Sinnington there is a cross-shaft also with a dragon in the 'Jellinge' style, of *c.* 940.<sup>64</sup> It may be therefore that the sundial at Lockton came from the first Saxon church on this site, later to be removed up the hill to Lockton, and that it was carved by the same craftsman who was responsible for the sundial at Sinnington Church a bare 6½ miles to the south-west.

### *Conclusion*

Lockton completes our survey on the nine known Saxon sundials in Ryedale. They pose a number of questions whose resolution must wait on further research. Perhaps the most puzzling feature, however, may never be resolved. That is, why so many different systems of time-measurement occur within such a comparatively short period of architectural history and in such a comparatively limited geographical area. It has been suggested that they represent the different systems of time-measurement practised in their homelands by the diverse communities of Anglo-Saxons and Vikings who settled in Ryedale, or at least the practises of their overlords. For example, the only decimal sundial is also the most 'Scandinavian' in its inscription. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the settlement patterns of immigrant communities in Ryedale during this period is limited, and what we do know points to a more

---

64. Collingwood 1907, 385-6. The 'Jellinge' dragon sculpture at Sinnington is figured on p. 397 (f) and that at Levisham on p. 360. See also R.A. Hall and J.T. Lang, 'St Mary's Church, Levisham, North Yorkshire *Y.A.J.* 63 (1986), 57-83, esp. 66-7, 79, pl.1; *A.S. Corpus*, Levisham 5a, b, 177-8, pls. 639-43, Sinnington 4, 208-9, pl. 807.

homogenous community than this theory assumes.

Another suggestion is that the different systems were not contemporary, that is they were not practised and made permanent in stone at one and the same time. Insofar as we have been able to date Saxon sundials in Britain as a whole the chronological evidence does tend to indicate a developmental sequence - that is, the octaval system with its variants evolved into the duodecimal system with its variants. Of the nine sundials in Ryedale the special case of the Old Byland decimal dial may be discounted as abnormal and uncharacteristic of the series as a whole. Of the remaining eight sundials, five are octaval and undeniably Anglo-Saxon, although two of them (Kirkdale and Great Edstone) are dated towards the end of the era. The only example of the remaining three duodecimal sundials which can be dated (at Weaverthorpe) is later and belongs to the Saxo-Norman overlap. (On the other hand the lost Wharram-le-Street sundial, which also belonged to the Saxo-Norman overlap by reason of its architectural context, is octaval.)

Because the two systems are mathematically compatible with one another (but not with the decimal system) the one - duodecimal - is capable of evolving from the other - octaval. Indeed the Bewcastle sundial manages to combine the two by emphasising the tides, but dividing them into three parts, each of one hour's duration. The alternative division into half-tides, each of one-and-a-half hour's duration, is incompatible. It may be that the half-tide system was abandoned for this reason, even though it better served the religious and social conventions of the Saxon era.

We still have to explain why the duodecimal system should supersede the octaval system before the Norman hegemony when, of course, it became the norm. I suggest that there is only one plausible explanation. We have seen that Saxon sundials always occur in association with churches - they were a religious phenomenon. Both the octaval and duodecimal systems equally served the liturgical practises of the time. After the Synod of Whitby in 664 the 'Celtic' observance gave way to the 'Roman' observance in Britain, and it is no coincidence that this title expresses the powerful and determinative influence which the practises of the Roman Empire exercised over the Early Church. By the time of Constantine it was the duodecimal system of time-measurement which had become the norm throughout the Roman Empire. It was natural therefore that this system should ultimately be adopted by the (Roman) Catholic Church wherever it took root, in preference to the Saxon octaval system, however great its utility in earlier times. We are fortunate that in Ryedale, because of the rich diversity of its Saxon sundials, we can observe this crucial transition of time-measurement to the system which is universal today, actually taking place.





## EXCAVATIONS IN DEANERY GARDENS AND LOW ST AGNESGATE, RIPON, NORTH YORKSHIRE

by Mark Whyman

*with specialist contributions by Ailsa Mainman, Patrick Ottaway,  
Nicola Rogers and Sandra Garside-Neville*

The market town of Ripon is familiar to historians and archaeologists as the site of a major 7th-century monastery, founded by St Wilfrid following a grant of land by Alhfrith of Deira c.AD 660; the crypt under Ripon cathedral is a famous survival of Wilfrid's church, constructed in c.671-8.<sup>1</sup> Knowledge of the later pre-Conquest history of Wilfrid's foundation is episodic, but by the Norman Conquest it had developed into a college of secular canons. As one of the four principal churches in the diocese of York, it continued throughout the Middle Ages as an ecclesiastical peculiar, within a corresponding secular liberty, under the direct control of the Archbishop of York. The first Dean was appointed in 1604, and the college became a cathedral in 1836.

In spite of its early historic associations, and the attentions of 19th-century antiquarians, Ripon has seen little archaeological research in the course of this century.<sup>2</sup> The development of the town from the 11th century was discussed by MacKay in 1982, but his study relied on the small group of surviving early documentary sources.<sup>3</sup> Since 1955, however, a number of small, previously unpublished excavations have taken place on five sites to the north and east of the cathedral of St Peter and St Wilfrid (Ripon Minster), with a larger area excavated to the west, on Bedern Bank (Fig.1). Sites in the former group have been studied by staff of the York Archaeological Trust using the original excavation archives. The excavations on Ailcy Hill (Fig.1, C), the site of the Ladykirk (D), and St Marygate (E), which produced results relating primarily to the 7th-11th centuries, are reported elsewhere; those on Bedern Bank are shortly to be published under separate authorship.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, deposits from the Deanery Gardens, one of the sites reported here, have already been described in print as the context for the 7th-century gold, amber and garnet cloisonné roundel known as 'the Ripon Jewel'.<sup>5</sup>

Excavations on Low St Agnesgate (Fig.1, B), directed by P. Mayes in 1974 for the Department of the Environment (DoE), and in the Deanery Gardens (Fig.1, A) in 1977-8, directed by D. Greenhaugh, again for the DoE, revealed significant evidence

- 
1. B. Colgrave (ed.), *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927), 34-7.
  2. See especially R.A. Hall, 'Antiquaries and Archaeology in and around Ripon Minster', 12-30 in L.R. Hoey (ed.), *Yorkshire Monasticism. Archaeology, Art and Architecture from the 7th to 16th Centuries*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XVI (1995), with refs; R.A. Hall and M. Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon, North Yorkshire, 7th-11th centuries AD', *Med. Arch.* XL (1996).
  3. W. MacKay, 'The Development of Medieval Ripon', *Y.A.J.* 54 (1982), 73-80.
  4. Hall and Whyman, op. cit. in note 2..
  5. *ibid.*





Fig. 1. Location of Ripon sites referred to in the text: Deanery Gardens (A), Low St Agnesgate (B), Ailcy Hill (C), Ladykirk (D), St Marygate (E).

of settlement in this part of Ripon from the 11th century onwards. The archives from these sites received by York Archaeological Trust in 1992 were incomplete. In the case of Low St Agnesgate, the loss of major components of the site archive has made it impossible to link the finds from the site with the stratified sequence; only a summary report can be presented here. Nevertheless, the surviving archives provide tangible evidence of the topography of medieval Ripon and its monastic institution. Furthermore, the pottery from the Deanery Gardens, which *can* be attributed to the individual contexts recorded on the site, provides a useful ceramic assemblage of the 11th-13th/14th centuries. When combined with occasional more complete pots from the Low St Agnesgate excavation, it provides a local medieval pottery sequence in an area from which little such material has previously been published. It is intended that the archives from both of these excavations will be deposited with the Harrogate Museums and Art Gallery Service, in the Royal Pump Room Museum, Harrogate.

### *Deanery Gardens*

The Deanery Gardens site is located some 75m north-east of the cathedral, in the grounds to the east of the Old Deanery. The subsoil consists of periglacial sediments and gravels characteristic of the drift geology of Ripon and its locality.<sup>6</sup> The site was excavated over a period of six weeks between November 1977 and January 1978. The excavation comprised a north-south aligned trench (Area A), 22.3m long and 3.6m wide at its southern edge, narrowing to 2.8m at its northern limit. At this point it was expanded to form a rectangular area (Area B) measuring 17.6m x a maximum of 6.8m, its long axis aligned east-west. Area C, immediately to the east and on the same alignment as Area B, measured 9.2m x 5.6m (Fig.2).

The depth of strata from the modern ground surface to natural sub-soil varied across the site from *c.* 1.4m to 0.8m, the greatest depths being observed at the southern end of Area A and the eastern end of Area C. In both locations this was due largely to the survival of post-medieval deposits, which, if they *were* originally of greater extent, had elsewhere been destroyed by repeated turning over of the soil during later use of the site as a garden. Over much of the site such activity had disturbed the earliest soil horizon overlying periglacial gravels, in places reducing its depth to *c.* 200mm. Where this deposit survived intact, sealed beneath later layers in the two locations noted above, it was up to *c.* 450mm deep. Such attrition of the early deposits on the site by more recent activity is an important consideration in any attempt to associate the finds assemblage with the structures and features identified in the excavation.

The natural subsoil in Area A sloped from south to north, descending *c.* 1.4m over its 22.3m length. Areas B and C were comparatively level, although the natural periglacial gravels beneath the original soil mantle dipped away slightly towards the east and west, leaving the surface of a broad, shallow, north-south aligned ridge of gravel exposed almost immediately below post-medieval garden soils in the centre of Area B.

---

6. Similar natural strata have been encountered in other excavations nearby, including the cathedral crypt and Ailcy Hill; see R.A. Hall, 'Rescue excavation in the crypt of Ripon cathedral', *Y.A.J.* 49 (1977), 59-63; 'Observations in Ripon cathedral crypt, 1989', *Y.A.J.* 65 (1993), 39-53; Hall and Whyman, *op. cit.* in note 2.



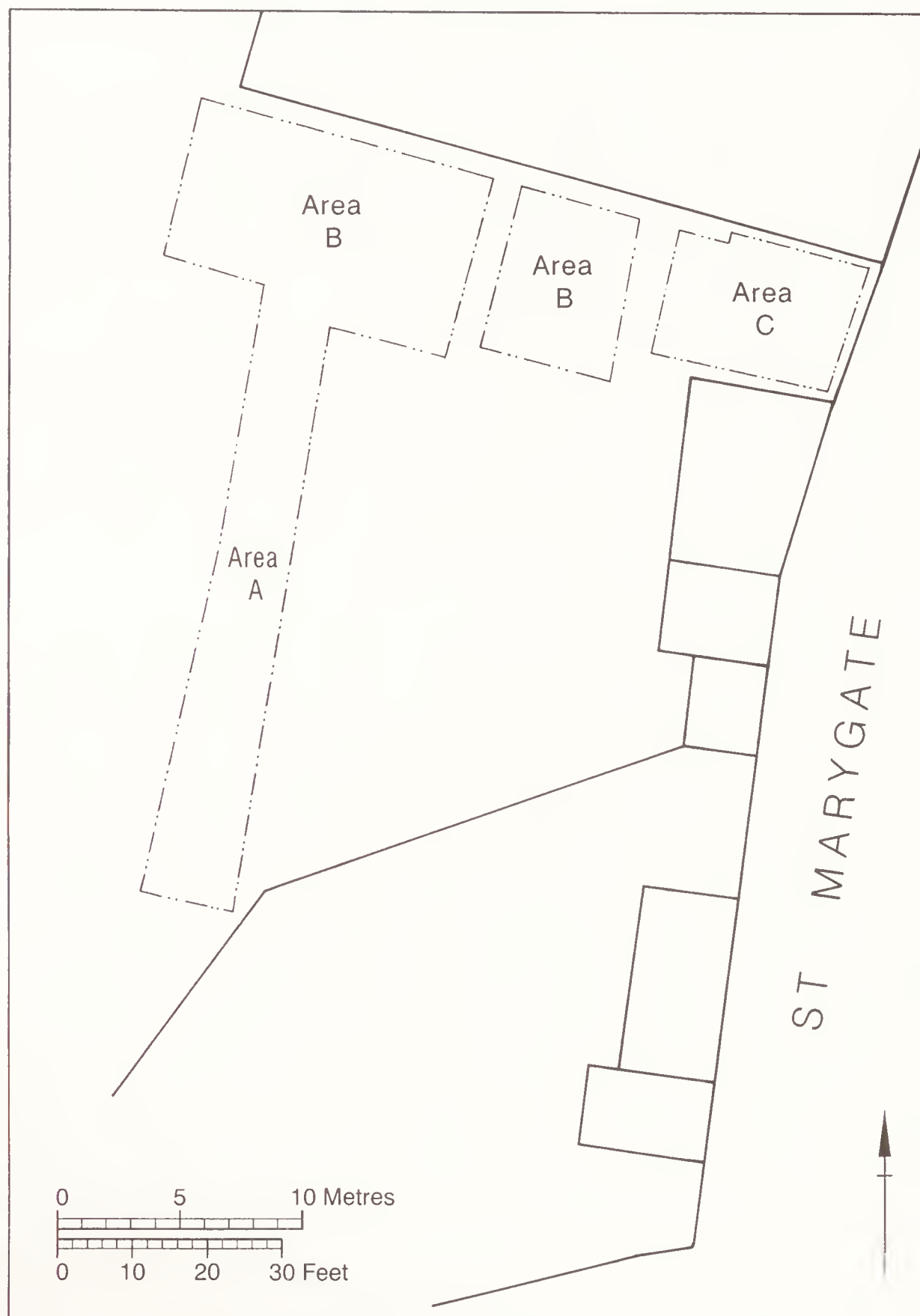


Fig. 2. Deanery Gardens, Ripon: location of excavation.

The uppermost garden soils, up to 1m deep in some areas of the site, were removed by mechanical excavator. Excavation then proceeded by hand, firstly defining a series of shallow, linear, north-south aligned features in Areas B, C and the northern half of A. These were almost certainly related to the cultivation and drainage of the site whilst it was used as a garden, and a number of shallow, irregular features associated with them are likely to represent the voids left by the dug-up root systems of bushes and small trees. Following the excavation and recording of these features the earliest soil horizon was removed, revealing in Areas B and C a series of pits, slots and post-holes cut into the periglacial gravels and associated sediments. Only at the southern end of Area A and the eastern end of Area C did stratified layers survive above this deposit, and in both cases these were primarily of 19th- or 20th-century origin.

The exact nature of the earliest soil horizon is discussed in more detail below, as

it contained the bulk of the artefacts from the excavation, and its interpretation is thus crucial to the understanding of the site as a whole. The only layers (as distinct from features and their fills) identified beneath it formed a series of thin deposits *c.* 300mm thick in the extreme western part of Area B (Fig. 4a), covering an area of *c.* 15m<sup>2</sup>. These appeared to represent two phases of lightly constructed timber buildings, interleaved with horizontal deposits representing episodes of levelling and demolition. The stratigraphic position of these deposits, the almost complete absence of finds (in contrast to the later strata), and the presence of a gold cloisonné roundel of the 7th century, suggests that these layers are earlier than, and distinct from, those which form the main subject of this report. Consequently they have been fully documented and discussed elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

The features excavated in Areas B and C are illustrated on Fig. 3. The earliest of these is the linear, steep-sided and flat-based slot 86, *c.* 0.60m wide, 0.40m deep, and exposed within the excavation for *c.* 14.5m. The slot runs obliquely east-west across Area B, turning through 90° as 119, and terminating *c.* 1m to the south in the flat-based feature 151, *c.* 0.60m deep and measuring 1.40m east-west x 0.90m north-south.

Feature 86/119/151 seems to be the wall slot of a large rectilinear timber-built structure, which extends beyond the limits of Area B to the west and south. No unequivocal traces of a wall equivalent to 86 were identified to the south in Area A. However, the internal surface of this structure, 68/157, a layer of large, well-compacted cobbles, stops abruptly along an east-west line in Area A, some 9m south of 86, apparently indicating the southern limit of the building. The absence of a wall slot equivalent to 86 immediately to the south of 68/157 may indicate the existence of an entrance to the structure at this point. Alternatively, the southern wall of the building may have been of 'open' construction, comprising individual timber uprights set on padstones. In the eastern wall, 151 may represent the setting for a stone post-pad, and thus indicate an entrance on this side of the building immediately to the south.

The building so defined had a minimum length of 14.5m, and was 9m wide. Its internal cobbled surface (68) contained six sherds of gritted ware pottery of the 11th-13th centuries. To the north and east of the building were several pits, one of which, 120, clearly cuts slot 119 and is a later feature. The position of the complex of pits 91, 95 and 100 relative to slot 86, however, suggests that not only were these features contemporary with the building but that they were integral to its construction. The southern edge of pit 100 corresponds almost exactly with that of 86, whilst pits 95 and 91 appear to represent re-cuts of the original. It is suggested that these are garderobe pits, an interpretation supported by the character of the primary fill of feature 91, described as 'grey soil with charcoal, ash and organic staining'. Such a deposit could be 'primary refuse', mixed with material deliberately thrown into the feature to minimise the smell. The layer is recorded as having a maximum depth of *c.* 300mm.

The identification of these features as garderobe pits has some interesting implications for the character of the building as a whole. They indicate the existence of a garderobe within the building, either on the ground floor or forming part of an upper storey, or incorporated as an outshot from a loft or roof space. No obvious

---

7. Hall and Whyman, *op. cit.* in note 2.



traces of such a closet were recorded within the building, the only possible candidate being the small post-hole 164 (Fig.3). The alternative, that a garderobe was housed at a higher level, implies that either an upper storey, or (perhaps more likely) a loft or roof space, existed within the building, and that it was inhabited. Post-holes 114 and 138 may have supported the framework of a garderobe structure extending outside the wall-line of the building proper. Furthermore, the apparent re-cutting of the garderobe pit (as feature 91) to the west of its original position implies modifications to the internal layout of the upper storey or loft space. The purpose of the adjacent pits 72 and 76 is uncertain, although an associated function - perhaps free-standing, external garderobes - is possible.

Each of the pits discussed here, and the slot 86/119, produced significant quantities (between 41 and 145 sherds) of various ceramic types datable to the 11th-13th centuries. This contrasts with pits 120, 121, 128 and 165, each of which produced little if any pottery. Since 120 truncates the slot 119, and 165 was dug across what is suggested to be the entrance to the building, it appears that these features form part of a later episode on the site, probably related to its use as a garden in the post-medieval period. However, the relationship of 165 to 151/119, the eastern wall-line of the building, is comparable to that of 100, 95 and 91 to the northern wall, 86. Although its finds assemblage, and its position in what appears to have originally been an entrance, suggest that it post-dates the original construction of the building, it could similarly have functioned as the pit for a garderobe, but in this case one added at a later date, the possible post-pit 93 supporting the external element of its structure. This would imply a wholesale re-organisation of the interior of the building later in its history.

Some 8m south-east of the eastern end of the building described above, an east-west aligned slot (116), 5.80m long, up to 0.60m wide, and *c.* 100mm deep, was excavated adjacent to the southern edge of Area C (Fig.3). At its western end this feature turned southwards through 90° as 129, less than 0.40m of this return being within the excavated area. Two depressions, one in the base of 129 and one (130) towards the western end of 116, suggest post-settings within the base of the slot, whilst two small circular cuts, 131 and 132, spaced *c.* 1.0m apart against its southern edge, appear to have supported some form of internal structure. Less than 0.20m south of the eastern end of 116, what appears to be the end of a north-south aligned slot (133), 0.30m wide and less than 100mm deep, ran southwards, clearly extending beyond the southern limit of the excavation.

116 seems to be the slot for the northern wall of a timber structure. Although no floor surface was identified in plan to the south of 116, the section immediately to the south of the feature indicates a thin, horizontal layer of pale yellow-brown soil, whose east-west extent exactly corresponds with that of 116 (Fig.4a). This has been interpreted as an internal floor of the building, which probably impinged only marginally on the excavated area, and was thus only observed in section. The probable form of this building is discussed in more detail below. It is possible that at least some of a series of post-holes to the north of 116 may represent elements of an associated annexe structure. 116 and its constituent features, and the post-holes of the possible annexe to the north, contained 35 sherds of pottery. The bulk of this was datable to the 11th/12th centuries, although a single sherd of York glazed ware from one of the annexe post-holes may be of 13th-century date.



The common alignment of the two structures suggests that both formed part of a contemporary layout, a comparison of the ceramic assemblages from 86/119 and 116 possibly implying that the latter was constructed earlier. Interpreting the functions of these buildings requires consideration of the finds assemblage from the site, and for this an understanding of the character of the soil horizon *above* all the features discussed so far, which produced the majority of the finds from the site, is essential.

The layer in question was excavated and recorded under a series of different context numbers, the bulk of the deposit being identified as 41 in Area A, 55 in Area B, and 77 in Area C. In each case it is described as a brown or grey-brown soil containing gravel. This soil produced 1039 sherds of pottery, of which nine were 16th-century or later, the remainder dating from the 11th-14th century; they were similar in character to the assemblages found in the natural-cut features described above.

It is difficult to be absolutely certain how this layer formed. Although it was excavated *before* any of the features described above were recognised, and thus appears to seal and post-date them, it is probable that those features were originally cut from a higher level, namely from *above* 41/55/77. The failure to identify the features at the level from which they were cut can be explained as the result of the substantial re-working of the deposit in the course of post-medieval gardening. This would have rendered the identification of layer and feature interfaces all but impossible above the level of the natural subsoil. It also accounts for the small quantity of post-medieval pottery, and occasional other late artefacts, recovered from this layer.

This interpretation is supported by consideration of evidence for the building represented by feature 116. As excavated, 116 is only *c.* 100mm deep, insufficient for the wall slot of what would appear to have been quite a substantial structure. Additionally, the horizontal layer visible in the southern section of Area C, coterminous with 116 and very probably its internal floor surface, is some 200mm above the level at which the cut of 116 was recognised. The evidence thus points to the ground level from which this building was originally constructed having been above that of the natural gravels; this was probably also true of the other structural features and pits excavated on the site.

The origin of 41/55/77 is uncertain. Over parts of the site it may represent a periglacial sediment of natural origin, into which pottery and other artefacts became incorporated as they were discarded on the surface of the deposit and trodden into the ground. However, at the western end of Area B layer 55 seals the earlier deposits which have been interpreted as occupation- and demolition-related layers accumulating between the 7th and 11th centuries; these are clearly not of natural origin. It is possible that over parts of the site, therefore, this horizon is the result of a deliberate levelling operation. Alternatively, the position of Areas B and C at the foot of a north-south slope raises the possibility that in places the layer comprises slope-wash which accumulated above the earlier deposits; by its very nature, such material would be indistinguishable from the site's original soil mantle.

To summarise, soil horizon 41/55/77 comprises a sediment originally of periglacial origin, augmented in some areas of the site by probable episodes of dumping and slope-wash. The structures and features previously discussed were constructed and cut from the surface of this deposit; artefacts associated with the use of the buildings were discarded within the features and on the ground surface, the latter becoming



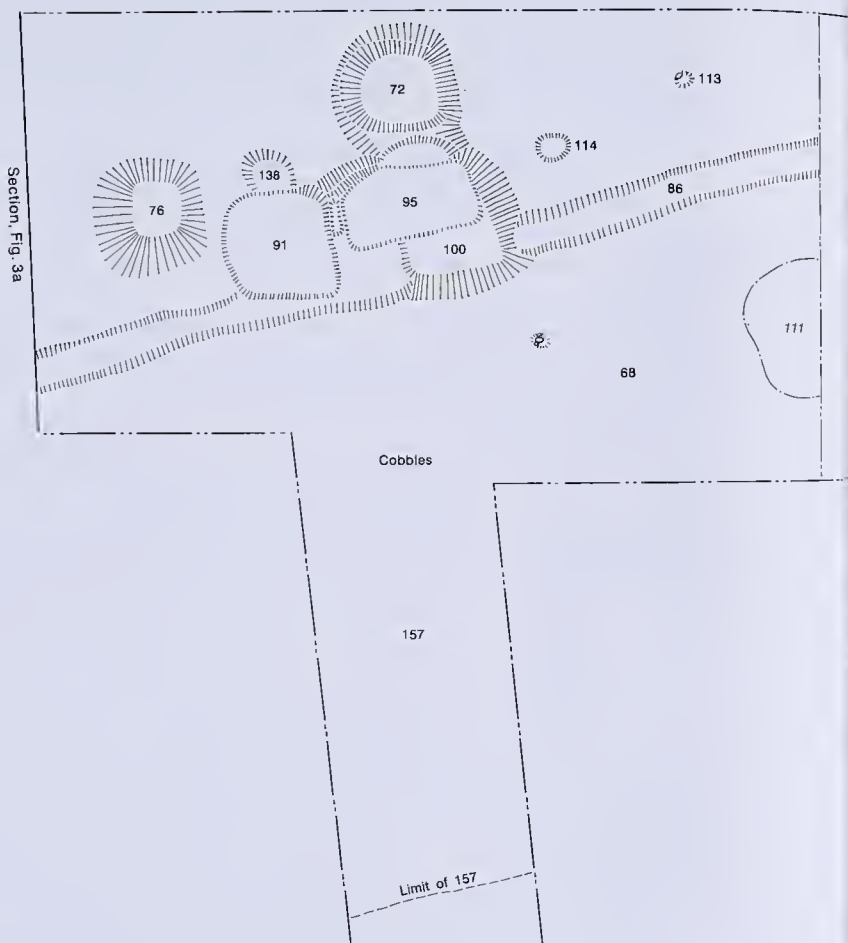




Fig. 3. Deanery Gardens, Ripon, Areas A, B and C. The Area C inset shows the later wall footings (98) and demolition debris (104) at the eastern limit of Area C.





Fig. 4. Deanery Gardens, Ripon: sections from (a) Area B (east-facing) and (b) Area C (north-facing).

incorporated within the layer as a result of 'treading in', and possibly the accumulation of soil over time as organic material decayed *in situ*. Post-medieval gardening and horticulture subsequently caused extensive disturbance and re-working of the layer, also introducing small quantities of later material. Most of the artefacts from these layers are broadly contemporary with the structures under discussion.

At the eastern end of Area C, hard against the boundary wall of the Deanery Gardens, a strip of strata *c.* 1.0m wide had escaped the subsequent disturbance evident over the rest of the site (Figs.2, 3a). Within this limited area a layer of limestone rubble 90/104, including blocks measuring up to 350mm x 150mm, lay on the surface of soil horizon 77 (Fig.3, inset). Although interpreted by the excavator as a road surface, the character of the material suggests that it is more likely to represent demolition debris. Beneath 90 lay 98, a north-south aligned linear deposit of cobbles and small limestone fragments surviving over a maximum width of *c.* 0.50m. These layers seem best interpreted as the footings (98) and demolition debris (90/104) of a precursor to the existing wall. The demolition debris 90 sealed a thin layer of ash and charcoal (92; Fig.4b) at the same level as the floor of the building represented by 116. This probably represents material deposited in association with the use of 116. The depth of deposit above the demolition debris (*c.* 0.60m) testifies to significant importation of soil to the site in its garden phase.

### *The Artefacts*

The bulk of the objects from the site were found in the site-wide soil horizon 41/55/77, or in later deposits. Artefacts in the former category are likely to have been in use at the same time as the structures described above. Those from later layers may also derive ultimately from this phase, but the evidence for extensive importation of soil from elsewhere in the later phases of the site means that they may be unrelated to the buildings under discussion.

### THE POTTERY *by Dr A.J. Mainman*

Two thousand, six hundred and fifty-two sherds of pottery (excluding clearly post-medieval and modern material) were recovered from the site. These represent a variety of different wares, the bulk of which span the period from the very late 11th century to the middle decades of the 13th century.

Much of the pottery is believed to have been produced in the Ripon area and includes some material from the nearby Winksley kilns. There is material from elsewhere in Yorkshire and beyond, but only two or three sherds of foreign imported wares. Cooking pots predominate and there are a few jugs and pitchers. The assemblage would appear, therefore, to be of a fairly simple domestic character.

### THE WARES

#### *Roman (three sherds)*

Residual and abraded Roman pottery was recovered from two contexts (B 95 and C 77).



*Grey ware (65 sherds)*

Grey ware sherds were recovered principally from Area B (49 sherds) but a further nine sherds were recovered in later deposits from Area C, and seven more from Area B in contexts where they might have been redeposited. The fabric is coarsely tempered with quartz sand grains (up to 2mm), with smooth, unglazed surfaces, and is closely related to the grey gritty wares described below. However, the grey ware vessels seem to be exclusively small, wheel-thrown cooking pots (Fig.5, 1-2) with sagging bases, whose simple, everted rims suggest an earlier type.

*Grey gritty ware (14 sherds)*

These sherds, which may represent a single vessel (Fig.5, 3), were recovered from context 55, part of the site-wide soil horizon. The fabric is very similar to that of the grey wares described above but the form of the vessel, a larger cooking pot (or pots), suggests a later, possibly 12th-century, date.

*Torksey-type ware (one sherd)*

A single sagging base which resembled Torksey-type ware was recovered from context 41, part of the site-wide soil horizon. It is clearly redeposited in that context, as the known currency of Torksey-type ware in the region is in the 10th and early 11th centuries. Torksey-type ware was the dominant pottery in that period in York, but has a wide geographical spread to the south, in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, and to the east on sites on the Wolds such as Cottam and Thwing.<sup>8</sup> Its importance to the west of York, including the Ripon area, is not yet established.

*Stamford ware and Stamford-type ware (16 sherds)*

A small number of sherds of unglazed Stamford ware and Stamford-type wares were recovered. These include cooking pots with sagging bases, simple everted rims and small collared rims believed to have had a later 10th- and 11th-century currency.<sup>9</sup> The Stamford-type ware includes sherds from similar, thin-bodied and unglazed white wares which were too coarse or too soft to be identified securely as Stamford products.

*Gritty ware (531 sherds)*

Gritty ware was one of the predominant wares recovered from the site, and was present throughout the sequence. The ware is defined by a buff to pinkish coloured

- 
8. For York see C. Brooks and A.J. Mainman, 'Torksey-ware viewed from the north', 63-70 in P.V. Addyman and V.E. Black (eds), *Archaeological Papers from York Presented to M.W. Barley* (York, 1984), and A.J. Mainman, *Anglo-Scandinavian Pottery from 16-22 Coppergate, The Archaeology of York fascicule 16/5* (London, 1990); Cottam, J.D. Richards, pers. comm.; Thwing, Mainman in prep.
  9. K. Kilmer, *The Pottery Industry of Stamford, Lincolnshire, c.AD 850-1250*, B.A.R. British Series 84 (Oxford, 1980).



Fig. 5. Deanery Gardens, Ripon: grey wares (1-2), grey gritty wares (3) and unglazed gritty wares (4-12).

body, heavily tempered with rounded quartz sand grains which give a coarse sandpaper feel and appearance to both external and internal surfaces. One of the main cooking pot fabrics in use on this site, sherds are frequently sooted on the lower body and sometimes over the entire vessel. Frequent sooting marks on the rim suggest that they were often used with a lid. The sizes of the cooking pots vary (Fig.5, 4-12), as do the rim forms. Bases are invariably sagging.

Gritty wares are common in the wider region (see below) from the later 11th century into the 13th century. Their currency varies from place to place, depending on the availability or development of alternatives. In York, for example, it seems



they were replaced as cooking vessels in the mid/late 13th century by products from Brandsby, to the north of the city. There must have been a number of centres producing these most ubiquitous of post-Conquest wares, one of which was encountered at Lumley Farm, Grantley, where gritty ware products included glazed and unglazed jugs and pitchers as well as unglazed cooking pots.<sup>10</sup>

*Glazed gritty ware (92 sherds)*

Glazed gritty ware was also found throughout the sequence, although in much smaller quantities than its unglazed counterpart. Glazing is usually limited to small splashes or spots of pitted lead glaze over limited areas of the body (Fig.6, 13-17). This glazing occurs on the cooking pot form, often on the rim, shoulder or upper body; it could be the accidental result of vessels being fired alongside glazed wares or a deliberate, if simple, form of decoration. Occasionally pitchers were produced in this fabric (Fig.6, 17).

*Reduced glazed ware (222 sherds)*

This is a sandy reduced ware, often characterised by a white slip on the internal and/or the external surface. The clay matrix is usually quite fine, dense and hard, sometimes with occasional larger inclusions (up to 1-1.5mm); slightly softer, coarser variants also occur. It is frequently glazed with a lead glaze (although the addition of copper to produce a darker green is not unknown). The glaze can be thin, partial and is frequently streaky around the lower body. Where the surface is exposed there is usually a thin oxidised layer.

Forms appear to be mainly jugs (Fig.6, 18-20. See also Fig.9, 49) with rod or strap handles and pinched lips forming simple spouts. The bases of the handle attachments are thumbled, and thumbing marks also appear around the bases. Decoration frequently includes applied thin strips, plain or occasionally pinched or thumbled, arranged vertically around the body of the vessel. In some cases these strips are covered with a darker iron-rich glaze. On one example (Fig.6, 20), a fragment of an applied seal was recovered. The motif appears to be abstract but the use of a seal suggests contemporaneity with the finer York glazed ware jugs which were current around the late 12th-early/mid 13th century. Simple wavy-line decoration was noted on some sherds and combing on others. Occasionally the bases of vessels, including glazed ones, were sooted, suggesting that cooking pots were also made in this fabric. The production centre for this ware is not known, and could be quite local. The products resemble other wares in the assemblage, such as reduced glazed ware and Winksley ware, in terms of their form and decoration. A fragment of a cistern, usually a slightly later form, was also recovered (Fig.6, 21).

*Reduced gritty wares (1000 sherds)*

This broadly defined group was the largest encountered on the site. The fabric is coarse, reduced and gritty, fired to varying degrees of hardness but not usually as

---

10. M. Kershaw, pers. comm.



Fig. 6. Deanery Gardens, Ripon: glazed gritty wares (13-17) and reduced glazed wares (18-21).



hard as the gritty wares described above. Exterior and interior surfaces are sometimes oxidised.

Jugs, pitchers and cooking pots occur in this fabric (Fig.7). Cooking pots are usually unglazed and occur in a variety of sizes. Their rims are generally more everted and less clubbed than the gritty ware rims, and occasionally have thumbing along the top of the rim edge (Fig.7, 28-9). Bases are invariably sagging. The jugs usually have strap handles, though rod handles and very occasionally twisted rod handles were noted. No spouts were recovered but, if the wares follow what seems to be the local tradition, pinched spouts might be expected. Applied strips, very occasionally combed, were also noted, as was the occasional use of applied pellets and wavy lines (Fig.7, 30 and 32). Lead glazing is common, though usually restricted to the upper parts of jugs or pitchers.

This fabric and the gritty wares described above appear to be more or less contemporaneous, although the peak of production of reduced gritty wares may perhaps have been slightly later. However, the differences in cooking pot rim forms, the wider range of forms and the much more widespread use of glaze all suggest that this ware is quite distinct from the paler gritty ware and may, in fact, be a development from the grey wares and grey gritty wares described above. The paucity of comparanda from the area makes it difficult to ascertain whether this is a local product, or to determine how wide its distribution might have been. The use of similar decorative motifs (applied strips, wavy-line decoration) on this ware and on the reduced glazed wares may indicate a number of local workshops which were drawing on a common stock of decorative and typological traits.

A coarser variant (50 sherds) of this ware was also recognised. This shares all the same features but is not fired to the same hardness, with larger quartz sand grains (up to 2mm) present in the clay body. The two variants appear to be contemporary.

#### *Oxidised glazed wares 1 (32 sherds) and 2 (13 sherds)*

Oxidised glazed wares, a finer (type 1) and a coarser (type 2) variant, are distinguished from the other gritty wares by a sandier, harder fabric and usually bright oxidised surfaces. The cores are often reduced. Few forms were recognisable, and these were all cooking pots (Fig.8, 33). The lead glaze is usually applied in the splashed glaze tradition with pitting, streaks, thin and bare patches, but is occasionally applied as a thick, all-over glaze.

#### *White glazed wares 1 (31 sherds) and 2 (nine sherds)*

These wares, both a finer, harder form (type 1) and a softer more loosely packed variant (type 2), are characterised by their white or pale grey sandy fabric. Type 2 has larger quartz sand grains than its finer counterpart. Copper or lead glaze is usually applied quite thickly over most of the upper part of the vessel body. Forms, where reconstructable, are jugs (Fig.8, 34), sometimes with applied cordons and wavy-line decoration. Pinched spouts and rod handles were noted. A finial, which might be part of more elaborate decoration was also recovered (Fig.8, 35).

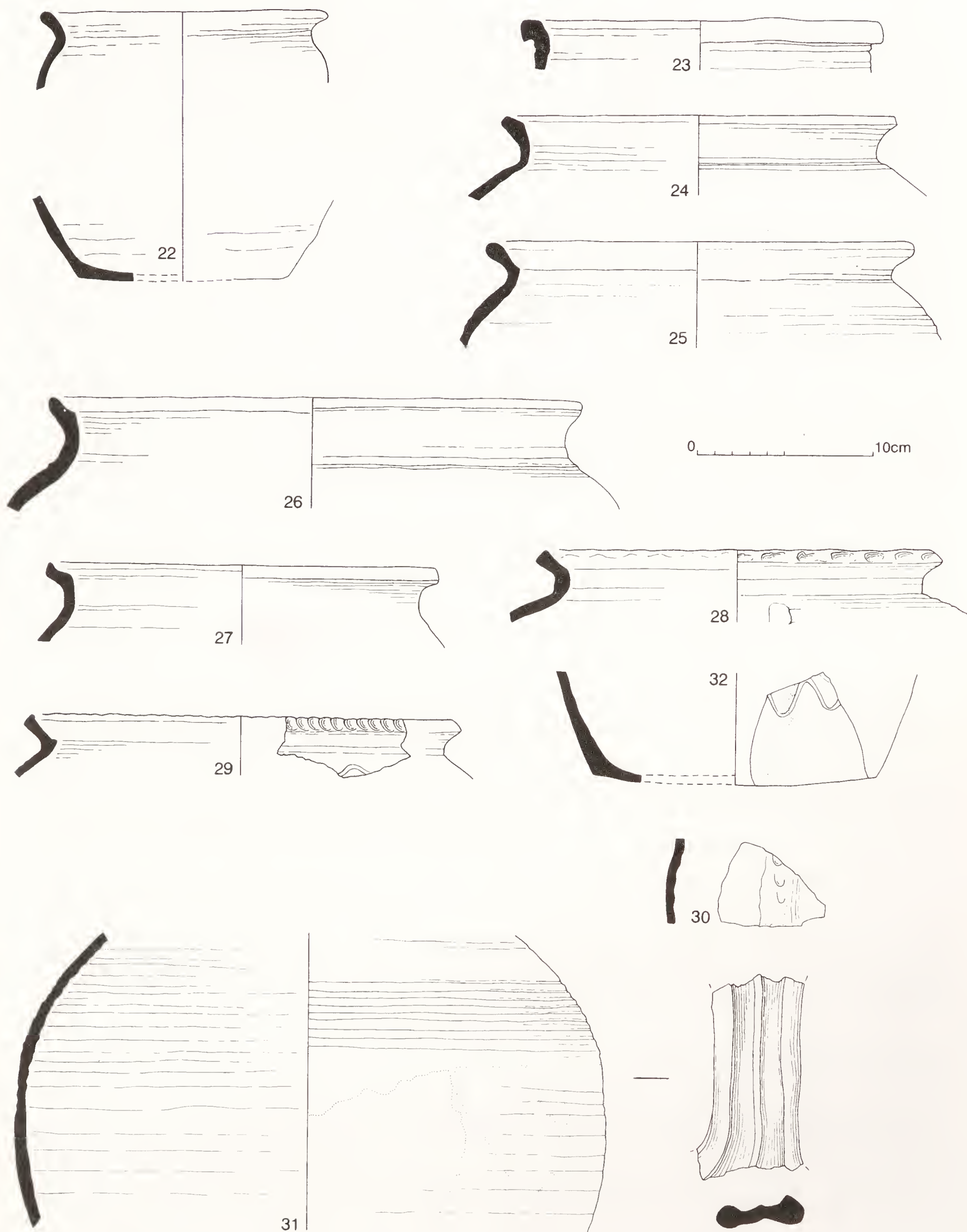


Fig. 7. Deanery Gardens, Ripon: reduced gritty wares (22-32).



*Splashed wares (424 sherds)*

Sherds which have been grouped together here as splashed wares were recovered from 40 contexts on the site. This broad group includes all those fabrics which do not fall obviously into the groups described above. Further sub-division would be possible, but the result would be numerous categories of 5-10 sherds which could only be described in very subjective terms such as pinkish buff sandy, reddish sandy, fine buff, sandy buff etc., which is of little help for further research. Some of the sherds included in these categories are very similar to wares described elsewhere in this report, especially to the reduced glazed, the glazed gritty, the oxidised glazed and the white glazed wares; they may well come from the same production centres. The splashed ware sherds are all characterised by the use of splashed, pitted, partial and streaky glazes, the typical feature of splashed wares recognised elsewhere. Where the generally small fragments permit the recognition of forms, they include jugs or pitchers (e.g. Fig.8, 36) with pinched spouts, usually strap handles and often thumbled bases. The use of raised cordons and applied thin strips suggests that they are products of local or regional centres, since these techniques appear to have been popular across a wide range of fabrics. Until more assemblages of this period have been excavated, and more complete examples of these types recovered, little further progress can be made in defining these wares more closely. The wide range of closely related fabrics in this assemblage is suggestive of numerous small production centres operating in or around Ripon in the 12th and 13th centuries.

*Early York glazed ware (26 sherds) and York glazed ware (18 sherds)*

Sherds of better known types of white-bodied glazed wares of the late 12th/early 13th century were recovered. These include early York glazed ware and rather less York glazed ware. The earlier variety is characterised by a slightly pinker, sandy fabric with a thin, speckled lead/copper glaze.<sup>11</sup> Forms recovered in Ripon include small jugs with rod handles (Fig.8, 37) and pinched spouts, but also strap handles decorated with thumbing down the sides of the handle. Body sherds are also decorated with neat applied and thumbled strips. There were fewer sherds of York glazed wares, and these show the characteristic highly decorated features of the type including applied pellets, wavy-line decoration, twisted rod handles, tubular bridge spouts (Fig.8, 38) and the typical thick bright copper green glaze. Jug forms are clearly represented but only by fragments.

*Brandsby-type ware (17 sherds)*

A few sherds, but no reconstructable forms, of what are believed to be Brandsby-type ware were recovered.<sup>12</sup> This is a buff, white or grey/white lightly gritted ware, and the sherds have the characteristic lead or copper glaze, as well as applied pellet decoration. The pellets themselves are either of a different iron-rich clay or were

---

11. C. Brooks, *Medieval and Later Pottery from Aldwark and Other Sites*, *The Archaeology of York* fascicule 16/3 (London, 1987), 151-2.

12. *ibid.*, 153.



Fig. 8. Deanery Gardens, Ripon: oxidised glazed ware (33), white glazed ware (34-35), splashed ware (36), early York glazed ware (37), and York glazed ware (38).

individually covered with an iron-rich glaze which dribbled onto the body of the vessel during firing. Jug forms are represented.

*Winksley-type ware (71 sherds)*

Products of the known kilns at Woodhouse Farm, Winksley (see below) are represented to a limited extent on the site. Few forms are reconstructable, but jugs and cooking pots with thumbbed rim edges are present (Fig.9, 39). The use of applied strips and pellets, and either different clays or glazes to give a polychrome effect, was noted on several sherds, as was rouletted and wavy-line decoration, and the use of raised neck cordons and rod handles. Glaze is typically a copper glaze, but lead and iron-rich glazes were used on applied strips and pellets to provide contrast (Fig.9, 40; see also Fig.9, 50).

*Scarborough wares (10 sherds)*

Fragments of one or possibly two decorated Scarborough ware jugs were recovered from the site-wide soil horizon. The glaze is flaking and they are somewhat abraded. A date in the 13th century is indicated for these wares.



*Imported wares (three sherds)*

A single Rouen polychrome sherd was recovered and other, possibly French, imports (Fig.9, 41-2) are represented by small collared rims in a fine, unglazed white and grey wares. Both were recovered from the site-wide soil horizon.

*Other medieval and late medieval wares*

A single sherd with black inclusions indicative of a provenance in the coal measures area was recovered from pit 108. Hambleton-type ware of the 15th century is represented by a single sherd found in later features probably associated with gardening on the site. Four sherds of Cistercian ware of the later 15th and 16th centuries were recovered from the site-wide soil horizon, together with eight post-medieval sherds. A further 16 post-medieval sherds were recovered sporadically throughout the deposits, supporting the suggestion of subsequent disturbance.

A further 34 sherds remain unclassified as they did not fit into any of the groups defined above. They include a range of wares usually represented by a single small sherd. These include those illustrated on Fig.9, 43-47, which are described in the catalogue.

*The site*

Although the sequence of structures, features and deposits on the site is problematic, some broad statements concerning the wares and their chronology can be made. These are based principally on the repeated association of what are believed to be quite local wares with other types whose currency is somewhat better understood (for example, York glazed wares and Winksley ware). The pottery assemblage can, therefore, be used to produce a broad chronological framework for the site. It also indicates the range and character of pottery in use in Ripon in the earlier part of the medieval period.

*The structures*

Most of the principal wares noted on the site came from the features associated with the building represented by wall slot 86/119/151. These include most of the grey wares (49 sherds) discussed above, which might be amongst the earliest on the site. They also include Stamford and Stamford-type wares (three sherds), gritty wares (160 sherds), glazed gritty wares (20 sherds), reduced glazed (21 sherds) and reduced gritty wares (29 sherds), oxidised glazed wares 1 (10 sherds), white glazed wares 1 (one sherd), and splashed wares (eight sherds). The building's internal surface (68/157) contained the same range of wares, albeit only a total of 12 sherds. The grey wares and possibly the Stamford wares are presumably redeposited earlier material, and some of the other wares could also be residual. Overall, however, a date in the very late 11th or, more likely, the 12th century is indicated. Pit 100, one of the garderobe pits, contained some later wares, including 100 of the gritty ware sherds, but also three each of York glazed ware and its early variant, as well as 10 Winksley ware sherds, indicating a date in the first half of the 13th century for the filling of this feature.

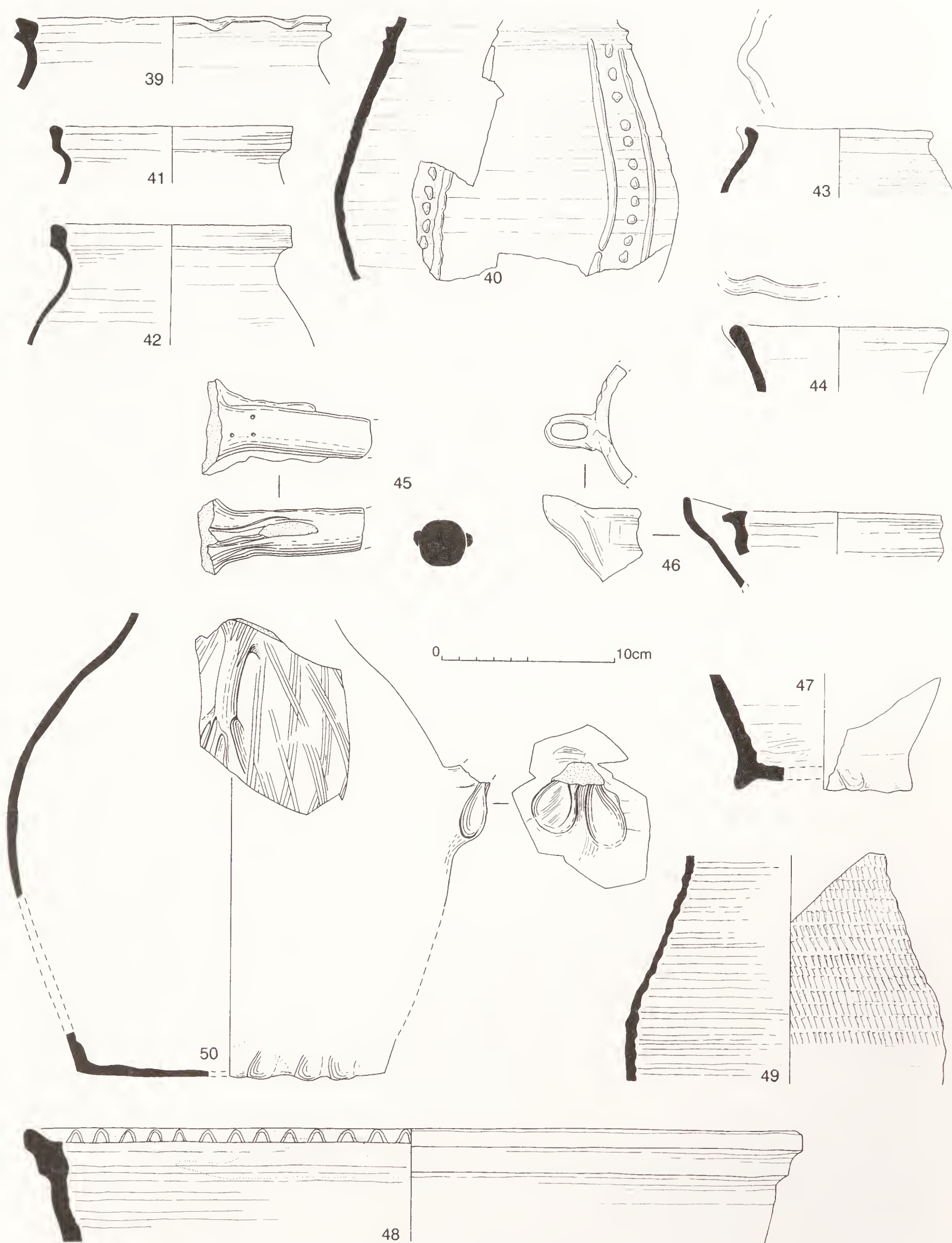


Fig. 9. Deanery Gardens, Ripon: Winksley ware (39-40), imported ware (41-42) and unclassified wares (43-47); Low St Agnesgate pottery (48-50).



Features associated with the other structure, which is represented by slot 116, produced far less pottery - a total of 35 sherds. These included a further nine sherds of grey wares, Stamford ware (three), gritty wares (11), glazed gritty ware (two), reduced gritty ware (five), oxidised glazed ware (two), York glazed ware (one), and splashed ware (two), again suggesting a date in the 12th century, with the sherd of York glazed ware (from a post-hole which may have formed part of a northern extension of the building represented by feature 116) offering the possibility of a slightly later date.

Most of the pottery came from the site-wide soil horizon 41/55/77. The difficulty of interpreting this deposit has already been discussed. The similarity between the range of ceramics recovered from it and that obtained from features clearly associated with the structures nevertheless suggests that it is, broadly speaking, contemporary with them. Both assemblages are dominated by gritty ware (glazed and unglazed), reduced glazed, reduced gritty and splashed wares, with smaller amounts of oxidised glazed and white glazed ware, all of which fit broadly into the very late 11th and 12th century chronology. There are, however, smaller quantities of York glazed ware (and its earlier variant), Winksley ware, Brandsby ware and Scarborough ware which would tend to push the date into the middle decades of the 13th century, and may indicate the continuing occupation of the buildings into this period. There are other clearly intrusive sherds of Cistercian ware, Hambleton ware and other post-medieval wares, which seem almost certain to have been introduced as a result of disturbance caused by subsequent horticultural episodes.

### *Discussion*

The assemblage from the site tells little about early 11th-century pottery in Ripon, other than that Stamford products and Torksey-type wares reached the town. Their currency and significance in Ripon must await the recovery and study of substantial earlier groups. As a 12th- and 13th-century assemblage the pottery is striking for both its conservatism and its variety. It is essentially a simple domestic assemblage dominated by cooking pots, jugs and pitchers. The forms, styles and decorative elements are drawn from a limited repertoire, including thin applied strips, raised cordons, combing and thumbing. On the other hand, it was difficult to assign the pottery to meaningful fabric groups because of the broad overlap in the character of the fabrics, especially of the gritty wares. These two characteristics suggest a number of probably small-scale production centres, exploiting comparable sources of raw material and producing pottery which was stylistically and typologically similar.

The bulk of the material is datable within the period 1075/1100 to 1250/1275, for the site assemblage is dominated by gritty wares (23%), reduced gritty wares (37%) and splashed wares (16%). Reduced glazed ware accounts for a further 8%. Other wares belonging to the later part of this chronological span include the York glazed wares, Scarborough ware, Brandsby-type ware and Winksley ware. The chronological position of the oxidised glazed and the white glazed wares remains uncertain but, on stylistic and typological grounds, they are probably broadly contemporary with these slightly later wares.

Such reliance on a tradition of local gritty wares fits a pattern recognised at other sites in western Yorkshire. For example, local gritty wares continue from at least the

13th century to the 15th century at Knaresborough Castle; at the Archbishop's manor house at Otley 'East Pennine Gritty' ware dominates the 13th- and 14th-century assemblages; at Kirkstall Abbey pimply ware and subsequently northern gritty wares are the main type from the 12th-14th century; at Sandal Castle, northern gritty ware also dominates the assemblage. There must, therefore, have been many production sites such as that encountered at Lumley Farm, Grantley, some 8 km west of Ripon, which produced pottery for local markets.<sup>13</sup>

For how long potters in the Ripon area continued to produce gritty wares cannot be judged from this assemblage, as assessment of residuality is not possible. From this site at least it appears that the finer late 12th- and 13th-century wares produced to the east of the town (in the Howardian Hills and in villages around Brandsby where York glazed wares and Brandsby-type wares were made) were not an important part of the assemblage. It is likely that by the second half of the 13th century the more local kilns at Woodhouse Farm, Winksley (c.6.5km away) would have supplied finer wares to Ripon. On stylistic grounds, production there is believed to have started around the mid 13th century, although there are references to Winksley potters being granted tofts belonging to Fountains Abbey between 1223 and 1233.<sup>14</sup> The relatively small amount of Winksley products could, therefore, be explained by the fact that the bulk of the pottery derives from earlier deposits. For example, wares associated with the building represented by wall slot 86/119/151 have none of the later York glazed wares, Brandsby or Winksley wares, although they do occur in the associated garderobe pit 100, where 10 Winksley ware sherds were found. Similarly none of these wares are associated with the other building, represented by slot 116. Instead, the Winksley products come principally from pits not directly associated with the original structure, which may post-date its construction and earliest use, a total of 38 sherds from pits 72, 76, 91, 108 and 165, where they are frequently associated with the early York glazed ware variant, or from the site-wide horizon 41/55/77 (22 sherds), a deposit containing an aggregate of the material used on the site throughout its life.

It could be argued that this assemblage is largely 13th-century, with very few datable wares from elsewhere in the region reaching the site for reasons of site status and economics. Alternatively, as is being suggested here, the bulk of the assemblage could be 12th- to mid 13th-century in date. This is proposed because the majority of the York glazed ware products are of the earlier variety and the Winksley products constitute a rather small part of the assemblage. Given the proximity of the Woodhouse Farm kiln site to the town, a higher proportion of these wares might be expected if the major phase of activity on the site took place in the 13th century.

---

13. For Knaresborough, H.E.J. Le Patourel, 'Knaresborough Castle', *Y.A.J.* 41 (1966), 591-607 (at 604); for Otley, Le Patourel, 'The Pottery', 134-8 (at 137) in H.E.J. Le Patourel and P. Wood, 'Excavation at the Archbishop of York's Manor House at Otley', *Y.A.J.* 45 (1973), 115-142; for Kirkstall, S.A. Moorhouse and S. Wrathmell, *Kirkstall Abbey: Vol.1* (Wakefield, 1987), 110.; for Sandal, S.A. Moorhouse, 'The Medieval Pottery', 83-213 in P. Mayes and L.A.S. Butler, *Sandal Castle Excavations, 1964-1973* (Wakefield, 1983). Pottery from Lumley Farm has been viewed by the author with the kind permission of Ms Mary Kershaw of Harrogate Museum.

14. C.V. Bellamy and H.E.J. Le Patourel, 'Four Medieval Pottery Kilns on Woodhouse Farm, Winksley, near Ripon, West Riding of Yorkshire', *Med. Arch.* 14 (1970), 104-25 (at 110-11).



These wares certainly formed a higher proportion of the assemblage recently excavated at Studley Royal, adjacent to Fountains Abbey.<sup>15</sup> If subsequent investigations of mid 13th- to mid 14th-century deposits in Ripon do *not* yield greater proportions of Winksley ware, this raises interesting questions of patterns of production and marketing.

## CATALOGUE

Context numbers are given at the end of each catalogue entry; letter prefix refers to excavation area.

### *Grey wares* (Fig.5)

1-2 Cooking pot/jar, grey ware. Gritty reduced fabric. *B 119*

### *Grey Gritty wares* (Fig.5)

3 Cooking pot. Sooting marks on the edge of the rim suggest use of lid. *B 53*

### *Gritty wares* (Fig.5)

#### *Cooking pots 4-12*

4 Cooking pot. Exterior surfaces sooted, interior has whitish deposit on base. *B 53*

5 Slight sooting on lower body and on rim edge. *B 108*

6 Slight sooting on rim edge and upper body *B 100*

7 Oxidised interior and exterior *B 100*

8 Oxidised exterior and reduced interior *B 100*

9 Oxidised exterior and reduced interior *B 53*

10 Sooting marks on lower body. *B 111*

11 Sooting marks on lower body *B 111*

12 White encrusted deposit on the lower interior of vessel. *B 53*

### *Glazed gritty wares* (Fig.6)

#### *Cooking pots 13-15*

13 Single spot of olive-green glaze on shoulder. Sooting marks on the lower body and on the edge of the rim suggesting use of lid. *B 88*

14 Glaze is limited to one or two pitted spots of yellow glaze on exterior and interior surfaces of rim and neck. *B 108*

15 Glaze is limited to a single spot and streak of yellow glaze on rim and shoulder. *B 86*

16 Olive green glazing is limited to spots on the rim and on parts of the shoulder. *B 154*

#### *Jug/pitcher*

17 Jug/pitcher with pouring lip. Glaze is limited to one or two pitted yellow spots on exterior and interior. *B 53*

### *Reduced glazed wares* (Fig.6)

18 Jug with strap handle, reduced glazed ware type 1. Fine sandy fabric with reduced core, oxidised surfaces and white slip beneath glaze on the exterior surface. Olive green lead glaze is thin, patchy, pitted and slightly gritty. *B 53*

---

15. L. Bown, pers. comm.

- 19 Jug with thumbled base, tall neck, pouring lip and part of handle attachment on neck. Vessel is thin-walled with fine reduced core covered by white slip on exterior surface. The exterior rim, neck and upper body is covered by a flaking lead glaze which becomes streaked and patchy towards the base. The base is sooted. The vessel is decorated by several (?10) applied cordons which extend down to the lower body from a neck cordon and are covered with the same glaze. *B 53*
- 20 (5) Jug with thumbled base. Vessel is thin-walled with a fine reduced core covered by a white slip on both surfaces. On the exterior this is mostly covered by a patchy, streaky, speckled copper green glaze which is pitted in parts and thickly applied in others. The glaze is thickest around part of the base where it has dribbled towards the rim during firing. Where there is no glaze covering, the surface is oxidised to a bright brick-red/orange colour. The vessel is decorated by several (?seven) applied cordons which extend onto the lower body but not as far as the base. These are covered by a thick brown iron-rich glaze. Part of applied seal survives but its exact position on the body cannot be established; the motif is abstract. *B 108*
- 21 Cistern. Vessel is reduced with a white slip on the external surface covered by a thick lead glaze. The bung hole has been pushed through off-centre. *A 101*

*Reduced gritty wares (Fig.7)*

*Cooking pots 22-9*

- 22 Oxidised interior, sooted exterior *B 13*
- 23 Rim edge slightly sooted *B 154*
- 24 Rim edge slightly sooted *C 105*
- 25 Oxidised exterior surface, white encrustation on interior *B 154*
- 26 Exterior surface layer is oxidised. *B 95/100*
- 27 Oxidised exterior surface layer *B 147*
- 28 Thumb and finger-nail impressions on rim edge, traces of a broad applied strip survive on the upper shoulder. *B 108*
- 29 Slightly oxidised surface layer and thumb/finger-tip impressions on rim edge. *B 72*

*Jugs/pitchers 30-32*

- 30 ?Jug fragment. Gritty fabric with reduced core and interior. On exterior surface a white slip underlies a pitted yellow glaze. Two applied vertical cordons border a strip of copper green glaze decorated with a vertical row of unevenly spaced applied pellets. *B 88*
- 31 ?Pitcher with broad strap handle. Large vessel with two horizontal zones of rilled decoration on shoulder and body. Upper body is covered with a dark olive glaze which is thick and shiny in parts and on the handle, but thins and dribbles towards lower body. *B 108*
- 32 ?Pitcher, sagging base with patchy streak of thin olive-green lead glaze and simple wavy-line decoration on lower body. *B 112*

*Oxidised glazed wares (Fig.8)*

- 33 Cooking pot. Collared rim edge is decorated with simple finger-tip impressions and slashes. Glaze is limited to a few yellow and olive-green pitted spots on upper surfaces. Pronounced thumb impressions form the footed base. *B 88*

*White glazed wares (Fig.8)*

- 34 Jug. Fine, dense, hard white fabric. Exterior surface is covered with a thick, shiny olive-green lead glaze with occasional iron specks and streaks. One extant applied vertical cordon



reaches from a raised neck cordon down the length of the surviving body, bordered by a shallow incised line on one side and a simple wavy line on the other. Two applied cordons, also bordered by shallow intermittent incised lines, splay out from where the rod handle joined the body. *B 119*

35 Finial? Fine white fabric covered with a lead glaze *B 165*.

*Splashed ware* (Fig.8)

36 Pitcher, coarse splashed ware with oxidised interior and exterior surfaces and reduced core. Olive green glaze over exterior surface and is thin, patchy and pitted near rim. *B 91*

*Early York glazed ware* (Fig.8)

37 Jug with rod handle. Pinkish/white fabric with speckled, thin, patchy copper glaze on exterior surface. *B 165*

*York Glazed ware* (Fig.8)

38 Jug with tubular bridge spout. Decorated with twisted cable and covered with thick copper green glaze *B 8*

*Winksley ware* (Fig.9)

39 Cooking pot with thumb impressions on rim edge. *B 72*

40 Pitcher/jug. Whitish gritty fabric with quite pronounced throwing lines on body of vessel. Exterior is mostly covered by a thin, patchy, dull olive glaze (pitted and shiny in limited areas), and is decorated by two raised horizontal neck cordons from which extend pairs of applied cordons forming narrow vertical zones in which there are vertical rows of applied pellets; these in turn are covered by a continuous streak of thick iron-rich brown glaze. *B 108*

*Imported wares* (Fig.9)

41 Fine unglazed grey ware. Possible import. *A 107*

42 Fine unglazed white ware. Possible import. *B 88*

*Unclassified wares* (Fig.9)

43 Jug/pipkin? with pouring lip. Olive green glaze over exterior surface and over rim edge. Thin-walled, slightly oxidised exterior and fine pale grey/white fabric. *B 100*

44 Jug/pitcher with pouring lip. Fabric is reduced, very dense, hard and fine. Surfaces are oxidised, the exterior is pale brick-red with spots of dark olive glaze, interior is pale yellow. *A 41*

45 Handle in fabric closely related to reduced gritty ware. Interior has oxidised surface; exterior is covered by a thick but patchy olive green glaze. Handle is flanked by two applied cordons *A41*

46 Jug with spout in a fine fabric closely related to 47 (below) and possibly part of the same vessel. Spout and exterior are covered with a thick lead glaze spotted with copper. *B 13*

47 Jug with footed base. Fine fabric with a reduced, dense core and surfaces oxidised to a brick-red. Above the footed base, exterior surface is covered by a thin, patchy olive-green glaze speckled with dark copper green glaze. *B 88*

*Low St. Agnesgate (Fig.9)*

- 48 Cooking pot in reduced gritty ware. Interior surface is oxidised and patchily covered with a streaked lead glaze. Rim is decorated with wavy lines. *Ripon 1974*.
- 49 Jug in reduced glazed ware. Interior surface and core are reduced with a thin white slip over exterior surface. Exterior is decorated with horizontally arranged bands of shallow slashed lines covered with a thin lead glaze. The decoration is very much in the tradition of the Winksley products although the fabric is different. *Ripon 1974*.
- 50 Jug. ?Winksley ware. Fine white fabric with core slightly reduced in places. Extant surface is decorated with cross-hatched bunches of incised lines, and covered with a thick copper-green glaze. Base is thumbled and partially glazed. Attachment for a rod handle survives, as does evidence for at least two (one very fragmentary) additional small handles arranged on the shoulder just below the neck. *Ripon 1974*

CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL *by S. Garside-Neville*

Initial observation of the 8.1kg of ceramic building material from the site distinguished 11 different fabrics. Closer examination with a x10 hand lens suggested that some of these be amalgamated, resulting in eight fabric groups. The two most common fabrics were:

- 1) pale orange to red, with abundant medium-coarse quartz and rose quartz, occasional shell, limestone, grog and silty bands; fine-coarse moulding sand.
- 2) white to light orange, with abundant medium-coarse quartz, and occasional grog and mica, the fabric often lead-glazed with colours varying from yellow to dark green; some fragments may have a white slip between the glaze and tile body and there is often a grey core. The fabric may be associated with the Winksley kilns (see discussion below).

The weight of these two fabrics combined represented c.45% of all the ceramic building material from the site. Although over half of the material from these two groups came from post-medieval or modern contexts, significant quantities were recovered from soil horizon 41/55/77, and both fabrics are classed as medieval. Other fabrics represented in minor quantities vary in colour from brown through dark orange to pale red, with varying quantities of shell, mica, quartz, grog, sandstone, pebbles and straw as temper. Two fabrics, both with abundant fine quartz and occasional grog, mica and shell, are probably Roman.

The unglazed plain roof tiles from the site are exclusively peg tiles, with no examples of nib suspension. Examples of ridge and crested ridge tiles were also found in unglazed fabrics. The production sites for the unglazed fabrics are unknown, but they may come from kilns specialising in roof tile production.

The glazed roof tiles of the second major fabric type, including ridge tiles, seem to reflect the forms found at Woodhouse Farm, Winksley, near Ripon.<sup>16</sup> Examination

---

16. op. cit. in note 14.



of some of the Winksley material, thought to be of mid 13th-century date, suggested that the fabric was very similar to that of the Deanery Gardens glazed tile, an observation which accords well with the conclusions reached about much of the pottery from the site. It has been suggested that specialised roofing furniture, such as the glazed material, could easily have been manufactured in pottery kilns.<sup>17</sup>

The major unglazed fabric type seems likely to have been the roofing material for the substantial timber building represented by wall slot 86 and floor surface 68. The larger fabric groups appear to be mid-13th century or later; roof tile begins to appear in quantity in York from this period, and its advent elsewhere in the region would probably have been broadly contemporary.<sup>18</sup> However, these observations are inconsistent with the fact that the pottery assemblage from the site has been attributed to the 12th century. This may imply that the building was originally roofed in perishable materials, and that the tiling represents a later episode. The alternative explanation - that the tile itself was manufactured at an earlier date than is usually recognised - is not at present supported by any other convincingly dated assemblages from the region.

Other unglazed fabric types were only present in post-medieval contexts, and may be genuinely later products. It is possible that they represent different tile fabrics used to effect minor repairs to the roof during the life of the building. The glazed tiles are restricted to Area A, and may derive from the roof of a separate structure not encountered within the excavated area. A chronological difference between the glazed and unglazed tile assemblages is possible, although the parallels with the Winksley material cited above, itself dated to the mid 13th century, indicate that glazed and unglazed tile could easily have been contemporary.

## THE IRONWORK *by Dr P.J. Ottaway*

Seventy-two iron objects were recovered from the site, of which 33 were nails, four of these being identified as horseshoe nails. The assemblage was unremarkable.

### *Structural Ironwork and Fittings*

In addition to nails and staples, two two-armed candle holders (e.g. Fig.10, SF27) were found in soil horizon 41/55/77. A wall hook with tapering shank came from an unstratified post-medieval context.

Amongst the small assemblage of surviving ironwork from the 1974 excavations in Low St Agnesgate (see below) was a chain link with a spirally twisted shank, of medieval type (Fig.10, SF72).

### *Locks, Keys and Padlock Parts*

A barrel padlock bolt was found in the backfill of wall slot 86, and two fragments

17. J. Cherry, 'Pottery and Tile', in J. Blair and N. Ramsey (eds), *English Medieval Industries* (London, 1991), 189-210 (at 193).

18. I. Betts, *A Scientific Investigation of the Brick and Tile Industry of York to the mid-Eighteenth Century*, Unpublished PhD thesis (Bradford, 1985), 332.

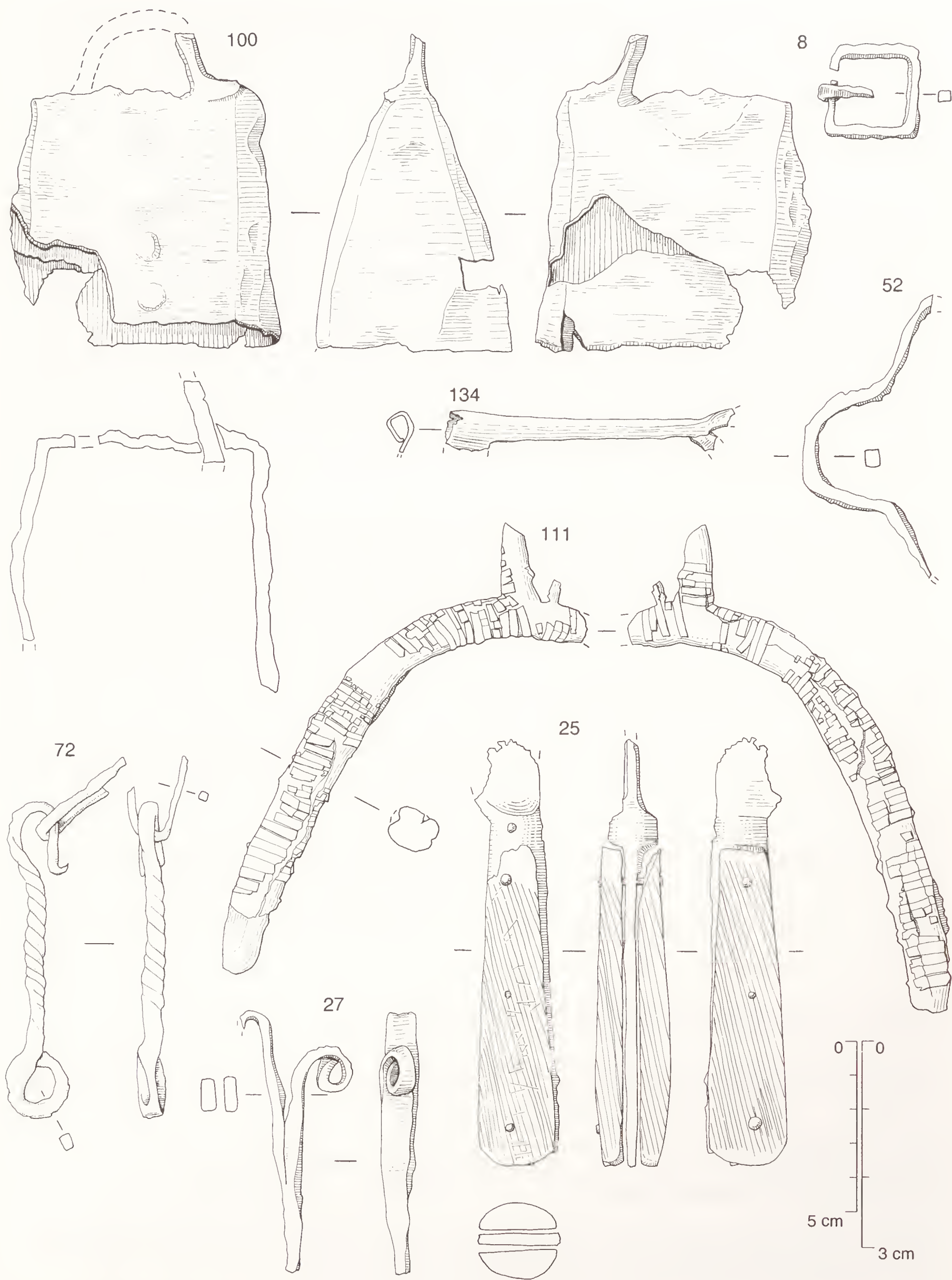


Fig. 10. Deanery Gardens and Low St Agnesgate, Ripon: iron objects. SF111 illustrated at 1:2, all other objects at 1:1.



of a barrel padlock case in ashy layer 92, to the east of wall slot 116. Both are of medieval type. A hollow-stemmed key of 8th-11th century type (Fig.10, SF134) was found in an unstratified context, and a solid-stemmed, post-medieval example came from soil horizon 41/55/77.

### *Dress Fittings and Riding Equipment*

A prick spur of 8th-10th century type was found in soil horizon 41/55/77 (Fig.10, SF111), and a rowel spur of a type dated to the 14th-15th centuries in an unstratified context. Two buckles, with rectangular and T-shaped frames (Fig.10, SFs 8 and 52) were also found in 41/55/77, and are considered to be of late medieval date. These layers also contained three horseshoes of 12th-13th century type, further examples of which were found in wall slot 86, garderobe pit 91, and the probably post-medieval pit 121. A horseshoe of post-medieval date was also found in layer 41/55/77. A single arrowhead of medieval type came from late post-medieval garden soil.

### *Tools and Other Implements*

Two comb teeth were found on the site, one from soil horizon 41/55/77 and one from feature 93. A blade and a handle (Fig.10, SF25) from different knives were found in post-medieval garden soil, and an awl in the post-medieval pit 121. The case of a small bell (Fig.10, SF100) was found in an unstratified post-medieval context.

### *Catalogue of Illustrated Ironwork (Fig.10)*

SF8: Buckle, rectangular frame with rounded corners one side, rotating arm at other side and in centre. Three grooves cut into each end of the former. Plated. Length 28mm, width 27mm.

SF25: Scale tang knife with bolster. Blade largely missing, tang widens to a rounded end, pierced three times. Bone scale plates, iron rivets. Length 123mm, width 22mm.

SF27: Candleholder, tang divides to form two arms each with looped terminals. Length 80mm.

SF52: T-shaped buckle frame, incomplete. Length 85mm.

SF72 (Low St Agnesgate): Chain link with spirally twisted shank. At one end a looped eye with recurved tip and at the other a closed eye. U-shaped staple set in the former. Length 92mm.

SF100: Bell, case has a straight top and is rectangular in horizontal cross-section. Fragmentary handle/suspension loop survives. Width 55mm, height 75mm.

SF111: Prick spur, rear and part of one arm, short pointed goad. Thin copper alloy strips are wrapped around and brazed onto the object. Length 76mm.

SF134: Key, fragment of bow formed as a loop with its tip tucked into the head of a hollow stem, bit largely missing. Length 84mm.

OTHER ARTEFACTS *by N.S.H. Rogers**Copper Alloy Objects*

A fragment of an annular brooch (Fig.11, SF18), of a type popular in England from the 13th-15th centuries, was found in an unstratified context.<sup>19</sup> A second annular frame with a pin may be from an annular buckle or brooch.

A bar mount made from a thin sheet of copper alloy and decorated with faint incised lines (Fig.11, SF32) was found in soil horizon 41/55/77, and is of a type which would have been riveted in transverse rows onto harness straps and belts. These were principally decorative features, and have been found in a wide range of medieval contexts.<sup>20</sup> A shield-shaped decorative harness pendant (Fig.11, SF39) from layer 41 would have been attached by its suspension loop to a swivel, which would in turn have been fastened to a leather harness. Harness pendants often bear heraldic designs; the shape, and enamelled and gilt chequered decoration of this example seem designed to have given an heraldic appearance, though it lacked a recognised heraldic device. Pendants such as this were common additions to harness in the medieval period.<sup>21</sup>

Another object found in layer 41 may be a strap-end or a hinged, two-piece book-clasp (Fig.11, SF33). Such objects have sometimes been identified as strap-ends, but three very similar examples from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, were tentatively interpreted as book fasteners.<sup>22</sup> These objects have been recovered from other ecclesiastical sites including the Austin Friars, Leicester, and St Andrew's Priory, York.<sup>23</sup> Further evidence that these artefacts may be book fasteners comes in the form of a statue from St Mary's Abbey, York. An unidentified apostle, carrying a book with a clasp similar to the Deanery Gardens example, originally stood within the chapter house of the abbey, and still survives largely intact; the statue is thought to date to the late 12th century.<sup>24</sup> This design of clasp may be long-lived, however; archaeologically recovered examples were found in 14th-15th century contexts at the Austin Friars, Leicester, and in London. The clasp found at St Andrew's, York, was in a 16th-century destruction level.<sup>25</sup>

Two pairs of small, undecorated tweezers, without slides (e.g. Fig.11, SF19),

19. M. Biddle and D.A. Hinton, 'Annular and other brooches', in M. Biddle (ed.), *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester*, Winchester Studies 7 (2 vols), (Oxford, 1990), 639-43.

20. G. Egan, 'Mounts', in G. Egan and F. Pritchard, *Dress Accessories c.1150-c.1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 3 (London, 1991), 162-243.

21. J.B. Ward-Perkins, *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (London, 1940), 118.

22. F. Pritchard, 'Strap-ends', in Egan and Pritchard, op. cit. in note 20, 124-62 (at 154, 4); M. Henig, 'Small Finds from 1976-78', 201-31 in D. Sherlock and H. Woods, *St Augustine's Abbey: Report on Excavations 1960-78*, Monograph Series of Kent Archaeol. Soc. 4 (Maidstone, 1988), 181, nos.10-11.

23. P. Clay, 'The Small Finds - Copper Alloy', in J.E. Mellor and T. Pearce, *The Austin Friars, Leicester*, C.B.A. Research Report 35, 130-7 (at 133); N.S.H. Rogers et al. in prep., *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Medieval Finds from York, The Archaeology of York* fascicule 17/-.

24. C. Wilson and J. Burton, *St Mary's Abbey, York* (York, 1988), 19-20.

25. Clay, op. cit. in note 23, 133; Pritchard, op. cit. in note 22, 155.



could be of any date from the Roman to post-medieval periods. In addition, a folded strip forming an irregular tube, and a post-medieval sewing pin, were found in unstratified contexts. Four unidentifiable copper alloy fragments were found in the post-medieval pit 128.

*Illustrated Copper Alloy Objects (Fig.11)*

SF18: Annular brooch, broken across recess for pin at one end where section is plano-convex; beyond raised edge of recess, section is crescent-shaped with channel on lower face, other end also broken. Diameter 26mm, thickness 5.5mm. Found in post-medieval garden soil; 13th-15th centuries.

SF32: Strap mount, sub-rectangular, ends rounded, convexly curved, rivet hole at each end, incised line decoration. Length 14.5mm, width 7.5mm, thickness 0.5mm. Layer 55; medieval.

SF19: Tweezers, with small oval loop, arms bowed, with tips bevelled on one face. Length 29mm, width 4.5mm, thickness 1mm. Unstratified.

SF33: Book clasp, hinged double-sided plate with pair of rivets for strap attachment, fragments of leather strap still in situ, cast semi-circular loop with central perforation, terminating in second loop in form of stylised animal head, perforated transversely. Length 38.5mm, width 11.5mm; loop, diameter 11.0mm, thickness 4.0mm. Layer 41; 12th-15th century.

SF39: Pendant, shield-shaped, lozenge-shaped section at upper end, main body of sub-rectangular section, with suspension loop at centre of straight edge, chequered design with squares alternately gilded and enamelled. Length 45.5mm, width 28.5mm, thickness 3.0mm; loop, length 11.0mm. Layer 41; medieval.

*Lead Alloy Objects*

A mount with a central dome with cross-hatched and quatrefoil decoration (Fig.11, SF36) was found in soil horizon 55. A personalised circular token (Fig.11, SF11) from the same horizon may be of 16th-18th century date, the style of the lettering possibly suggesting a date towards the end of that range. A cylindrical net sinker (Fig.11, SF55) came from post-medieval pit 120. Two strips which may have been used as flashing or roofing material came from unstratified post-medieval contexts, as did a lead sheet fragment. Another example of the latter was found in layer 41/55/77, as were two lumps of lead run-off and a 71mm length of lead rod.

*Illustrated Lead Objects (Fig.11)*

SF11: Token, circular, of trapezoidal section, rim around circumference, 'RC' in relief on upper face. Diameter 15.0mm, thickness 2.5mm. Layer 41/55/77, 16th-18th century.

SF36: Mount, incomplete, broad flat rim and central dome, the latter decorated with cross-hatching and quatrefoil. Diameter 29mm, height 7.5mm, thickness 1.5mm. Layer 41/55/77.

SF55: Net sinker, cylindrical with irregular overlapped seam, ends open. Length 27.0mm, diameter 8.5mm. Layer 120.

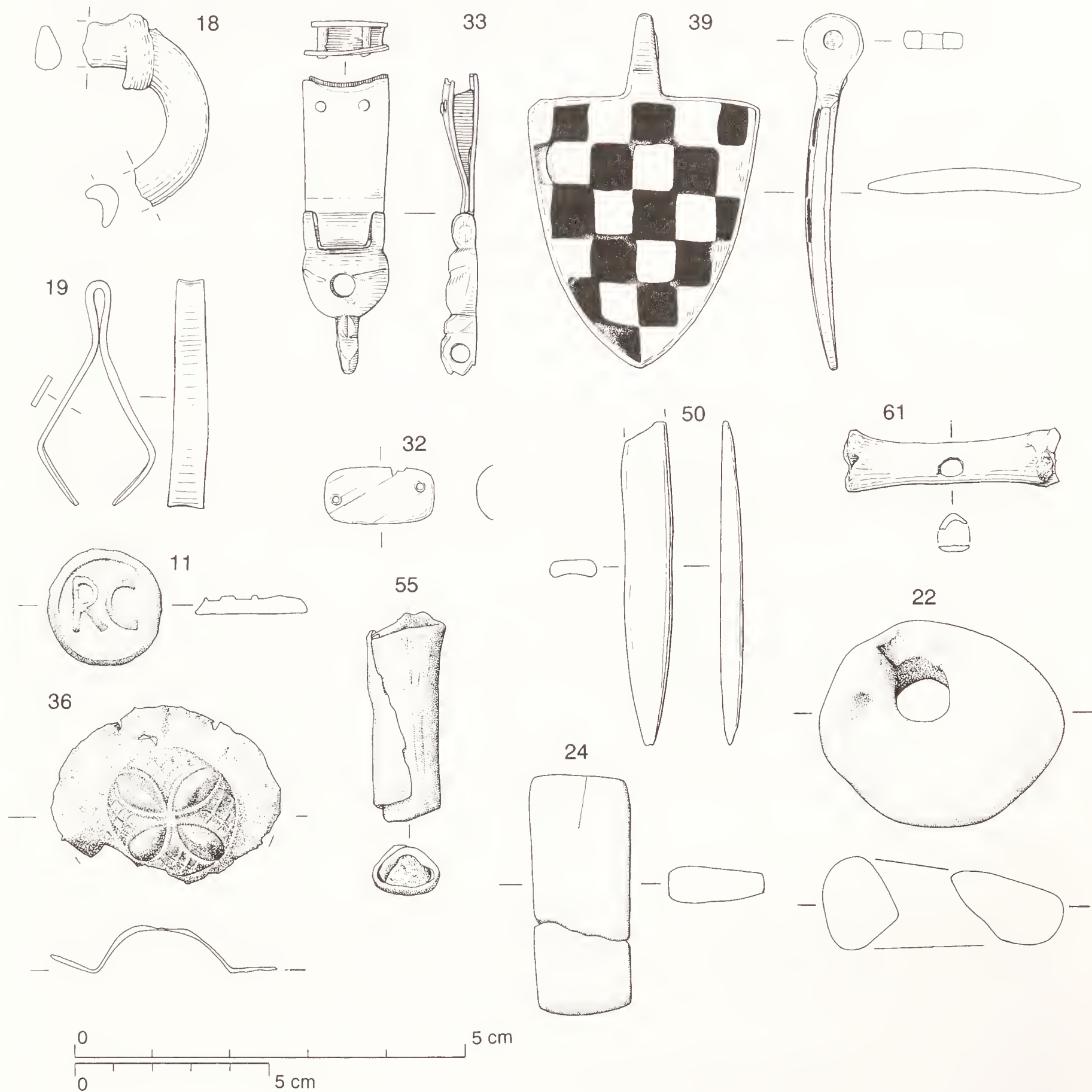


Fig. 11. Deanery Gardens, Ripon: objects of copper alloy, lead alloy, bone and stone. SFs 22, 24, 50 and 61 illustrated at 1:2; all other objects at 1:1.

### *Bone Objects*

Five bone objects were found on the site, three of them toggles or buzz-bones (e.g. Fig. 11, SF61), simple musical instruments spun on cords.<sup>26</sup> Two of these toggles were found in the backfill of wall slot 86, the third in pit 91, a feature contemporary with that structure. A fragment of a picker-cum-beater (Fig. 11, SF50), used for picking up warp threads and beating down weft threads on a vertical two-beam loom, was

26. See D. Brown and G. Lawson, 'Toggles', in Biddle (ed.), op. cit. in note 19, 589-91.



found in soil horizon 41/55/77. Toggles/buzz-bones are known to have been in use from the Iron Age to the medieval period, whilst vertical two-beam looms appear to have been in use in England from the 9th/10th centuries to the 14th century.<sup>27</sup>

*Illustrated Bone Objects (Fig.11)*

SF50: Picker-cum-beater, incomplete, one end roughly broken away, other end tapering to a flattened point, polished around pointed end. Length 84mm, width 13mm, thickness 5.5mm.

SF61: Toggle or buzz-bone, made from pig right metatarsal, centrally perforated. Length 55mm.

*Stone Objects*

Three fragments of honestone from two separate objects were found on the site, two conjoining fragments from soil horizon 41/55/77 (Fig.11, SF24) and a third from modern garden soil. A perforated stone object (Fig.11, SF22) found in a post-medieval drainage gully may have served as a weight for a fishing net.<sup>28</sup>

*Illustrated Stone Objects (Fig.11)*

SF22: Weight, naturally sub-oval in shape, perforation gouged out towards one edge, wear to one side of perforation indicating use. Length 61.5mm, width 53.5mm, thickness 18.0mm. Post-medieval garden deposit.

SF24: Hone, in two adjoining fragments, sub-rectangular, of sub-rectangular section, one end slightly rounded. Length 62.5mm, width 25.5mm, thickness 9mm. Layer 41/55/77.

*Glass*

A fragment of unpainted medieval window glass was found in the backfill of wall slot 86, and a single undiagnostic body fragment from a medieval glass vessel was found in a modern context. Both fragments were made of potash or forest (green) glass.

*Discussion of the Deanery Gardens buildings*

Interpretation of the Deanery Gardens excavation is hampered by its incomplete archive and the disturbance of strata on the site by post-medieval gardening. However, the available evidence does indicate the existence of two timber-built structures on the site, and it has been possible, in broad terms, to associate artefact assemblages with these buildings with reasonable confidence.

The larger, easternmost building, represented by wall slot 86/119/151 and internal cobbled surface 68, was 9.0m wide and at least 14.5m long. It appears to

27. D. Brown, 'Weaving Tools', in Biddle (ed.), op. cit. in note 19, 225-32.

28. cf J. Steane and M. Foreman, 'Medieval Fishing Tackle', in M. Aston (ed.), *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England*, B.A.R. British Series 182/1 (Oxford, 1988), 137-86.

have had an entrance at its eastern end. There may also have been an entrance to the south, as no traces of a wall slot were identified in Area A. It may be that this face of the building was open, with timber uprights supported on individual padstones.

No detailed indications of the character of the walls of this building were recognised; its timber walls may have been formed by earth-fast timbers, or wall slots could have contained unmortared stone footings, subsequently robbed out. The floor was of closely packed large cobbles, with no indications of any internal arrangement apart from a single small post-hole, 164. A substantial cut feature located towards the eastern end of the building, 111, may have originally contained a structural component of the building, but was not completely excavated.

If the interpretation of features 91 and 95 as garderobe pits is accurate, it is probable that the building either had an upper storey, or that a loft or other form of floored roof-space existed which was inhabited. The quantities of ceramic tile from the site appear to indicate a tiled roof.

The overall picture is one of a substantial structure with little evidence for elaboration or creature comforts. This view is supported by the pottery assemblage, dominated by locally produced vessels of domestic character. The other artefacts may, however, point to a specific function for the building. Although the finds assemblage is small and quite diverse, there is a noticeable emphasis on equipment with equine associations; horseshoes and horseshoe nails, iron comb teeth (from curry combs?), spurs, harness mounts and fittings, and toggles and buckles which could certainly have been employed on harnesses and saddlery. Other objects from the site - the iron candle holders, a wall hook, and a key - would all sit comfortably within the interpretation of the building as a stable block, and the cobbled internal floor surface is also appropriate to such a function.

Returning to the possibility that the building had either two storeys, or more probably an inhabited loft space, as suggested by the provision of a garderobe, it can be proposed that this would have provided accommodation for those responsible for looking after the horses, perhaps doubling as a hay loft. The dating of the roofing tile and the bulk of the pottery suggests that the building was constructed and occupied in this way at some point in the 13th century. The very small quantities of later pottery and artefacts perhaps indicate that the building remained standing for a long period, but that after the 13th century it ceased to be occupied and used in its original fashion. A change of use of the structure may be indicated if pit 165 represents the position of a garderobe installed in the building across what had previously been an entrance.

Less evidence is available to permit interpretation of the smaller building to the east. Only its northern wall, or a part of it, was within the excavated area, and subsequent disturbance had clearly resulted in the loss of most of the original depth of wall slot 116. Additionally, what appear to be the internal floor surfaces of the building were only recorded in section. The ceramic assemblage associated with this structure suggests that it is broadly contemporary with the building to the west, although the predominance of 12th- as opposed to 13th-century types perhaps indicates that it was constructed slightly earlier. The post depressions within and on the edge of 116 show that different construction techniques were employed than was the case with 86, again possibly hinting at a difference in date. However, the



common alignment of these buildings, and their positioning in relation to one another, appear to indicate that both were standing at the same time for at least part of their respective histories.

Although clearly rectilinear, it is uncertain whether the long axis of the eastern building was aligned north-south or east-west. The evidence does, however, seem to favour the latter, as the narrow post-hole or slot 133 seems more appropriate as the footing for an internal partition than for a load-bearing wall. This reconstruction would indicate an entrance immediately to the east of the partition (Fig.3), and, presumably, another chamber to the east of the entrance. This would have interesting implications.

Firstly, the deposit of ash and charcoal, 92, recorded in the southern section of Area C (Fig.4b), can be seen as another internal floor surface, complementing the layer visible in the same section immediately to the south of 116. Fragments of a padlock of medieval type were found in layer 92. Secondly, although 133 appears to be parallel to 129, the western wall of the building, the northern wall (116) does not meet with these two at 90°, but is aligned a few degrees to the north (Fig.3). This arrangement suggests that the structure as a whole may have been slightly bow-sided. Thirdly, and most importantly, this reconstruction insists that the eastern half of the building not only underlies the demolition debris 104, but also that the line of the original precinct boundary wall, represented by the cobble layer 98, cut through the middle of the building from north to south, and must therefore post-date it (Fig.3). As St Marygate runs immediately to the east of the boundary wall, the existence of a building apparently dating to the 12th or 13th century, which extended across its line, has significant implications for the date at which that street was established.

The antiquarian John Leland, writing in the 1530s or 1540s, describes how Marmaduke Huby, Abbot of Fountains, built ‘...a very fair high Waul of squarid stone at the Est End of the Garth ... wher now is a Chapelle of Our Lady’.<sup>29</sup> This wall, built of limestone blocks, survives over a length of c.25.0m along the more southerly section of the eastern boundary of the Deanery Gardens, but from a point c.8.0m south of Area C has subsequently been replaced by a brick wall. It is almost certain that the footings 98, and the demolition debris 104, are remains of Abbot Huby’s original wall; the footings can therefore be dated to the period between 1501, when Huby was granted the land by Archbishop Savage of York, and 1526 when he died. This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that 98 continues the line of Huby’s original wall as projected from the point at which its brick-built successor, whose alignment deviates slightly to the east of the original, commences (as can be seen from a comparison of the two Fig.3 insets). It seems clear, however, that in the 12th or early 13th century buildings extended across what is now the line of St Marygate. The establishment of that street can thus be attributed to the period c.1200-c.1526.

### *Low St Agnesgate*

In 1974 an L-shaped area of c.140m<sup>2</sup> was excavated on the east side of Low St Agnesgate by P. Mayes on behalf of the DoE (Fig. 1.). As previously noted, the surviving site archive does not allow artefact assemblages to be linked with specific

---

29. L.T. Smith (ed.), *Leland’s Itinerary in England and Wales* (London, 1907), vol.1, 80-1.

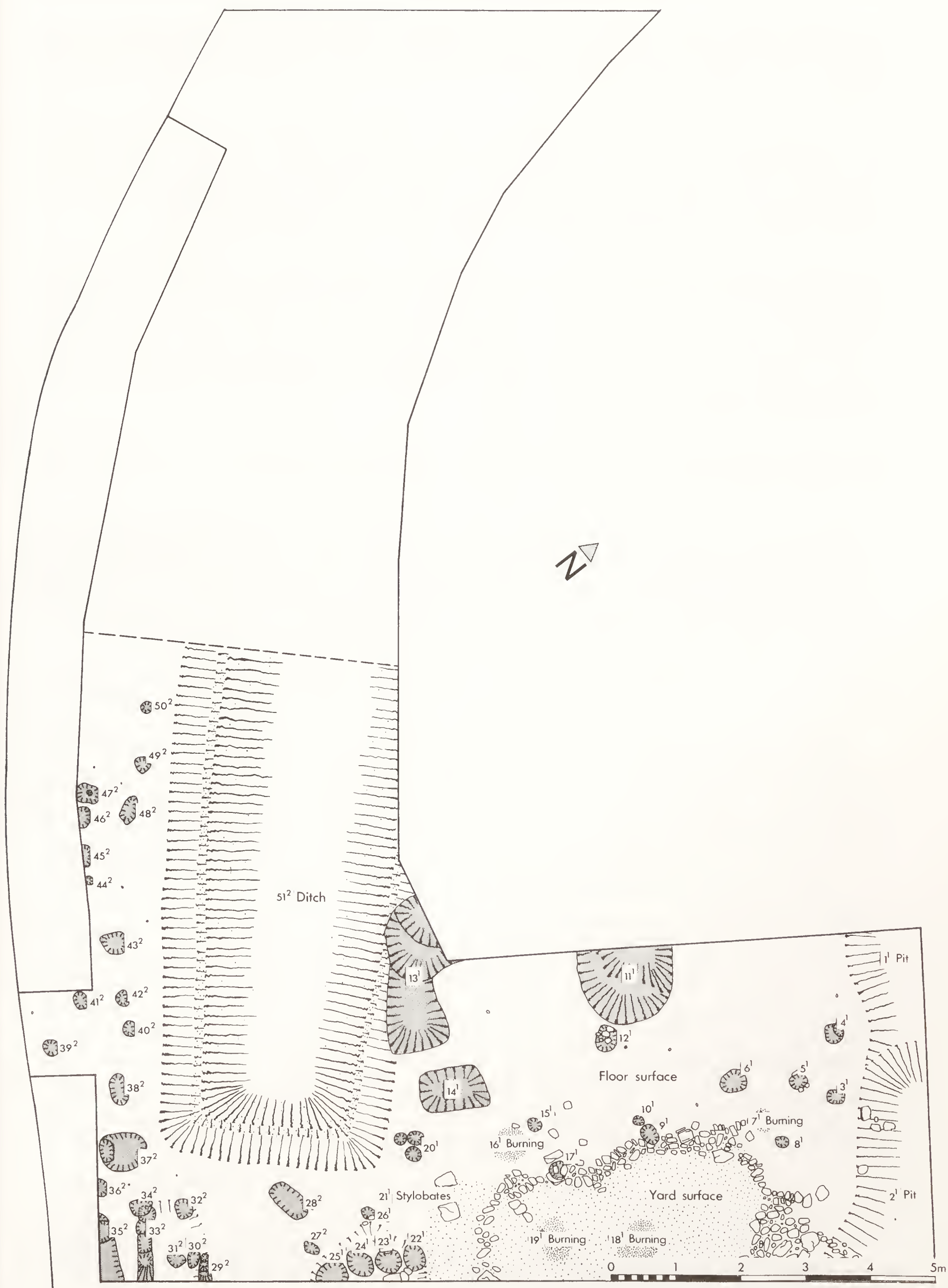


Fig. 12. Low St Agnesgate, Ripon: first phase, showing major boundary ditch and associated structures



recorded strata. An overview of the available information indicates that a soil depth of *c.* 2.50m contained substantial remains of three distinct phases of activity (Figs 12, 13 and 14).

1) A substantial ditch, *c.* 4.20m wide and 2.0m deep, parallel to Low St Agnesgate, its south-eastern terminal within the excavation (Figs 12, 15). A series of post-holes, small pits and a burnt surface seem to represent ephemeral structures, some of which appear contemporary with the ditch, others later than it (Fig.12).

2) Following the deliberate infilling of the ditch with cobbles and gravel (Fig.15), a building measuring *c.* 11.0m x at least 5.0m was constructed over the top of it (Fig.13). This seems to have been of timber construction, carried on stone sleeper walls, with internal surfaces of clay and mortar. The character of the ditch fill suggests that it was deliberately selected to ensure sufficient load-bearing capacity for the subsequent building (Fig.15).

3) After demolition, the footings of this building were sealed by a cobbled yard surface, incorporating a narrow stone-lined drain (Fig.14).

The pottery assemblage indicates a date range for this sequence from the 11th/12th-15th centuries, the bulk of the pottery being of the 13th/14th centuries. It is clear from the site archive, however, that this material represents only a selection of that recovered from the site. Some of the more complete vessels are illustrated at the end of the report on the Deanery Gardens (Fig.9, 48-50).

*Deanery Gardens, Low St Agnesgate, and the topography of the medieval monastic precinct*

Whilst the larger of the two buildings identified on the Deanery Gardens site can plausibly be interpreted as a stable block, too little of the smaller building was excavated to allow its function to be determined. However, a court case of 1228 between the chapter and the Archbishop of York makes it clear that land in this area formed the core of ecclesiastical holdings in Ripon, and it seems probable that both structures represent outbuildings within a precinct owned or controlled by either the Ripon Chapter or the Archbishopric.<sup>30</sup>

In considering the possible form of the 12th-13th century monastic precinct, the large ditch terminal found on the Low St Agnesgate site merits consideration. Such a feature would be appropriate as part of the boundary of an ecclesiastical precinct, as testified by the earlier (9th-century) example at Beverley.<sup>31</sup> Although the date of the St Agnesgate ditch is uncertain, the earliest pottery from the site, of the 11th/12th centuries, suggests that the feature was open at this date, and it may thus be broadly contemporary with the Deanery Gardens buildings. It has been proposed elsewhere that the original monastic enclosure at Ripon encompassed land to the east of this, the line of Priest Lane (Fig.16) indicating the limit of the precinct.<sup>32</sup>

30. op.cit. in note 3, 75.

31. P. P. Armstrong, D. Tomlinson and D.H. Evans, *Excavations at Lurk Lane, Beverley, 1979-1982*, Sheffield Excavation Reports 1 (Sheffield, 1991), feature 1242; Fig.5 (p.9), Fig.44 (facing p.60).

32. Hall and Whyman, op. cit. in note 2.



Fig. 13. Low St Agnesgate, Ripon: second phase, structure built on stone foundations.



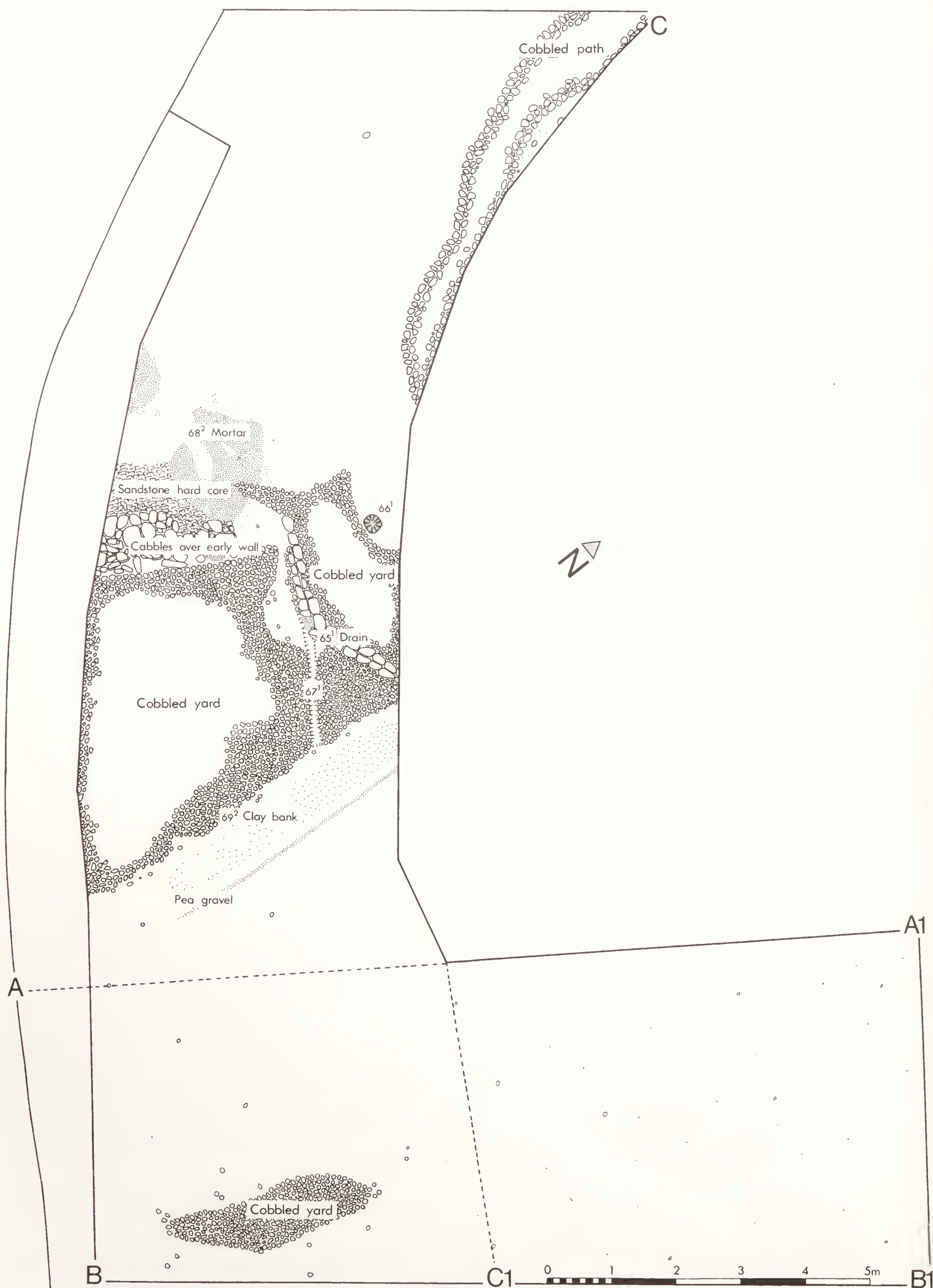


Fig. 14. Low St Agnesgate, Ripon: third phase, cobbled yard surfaces.

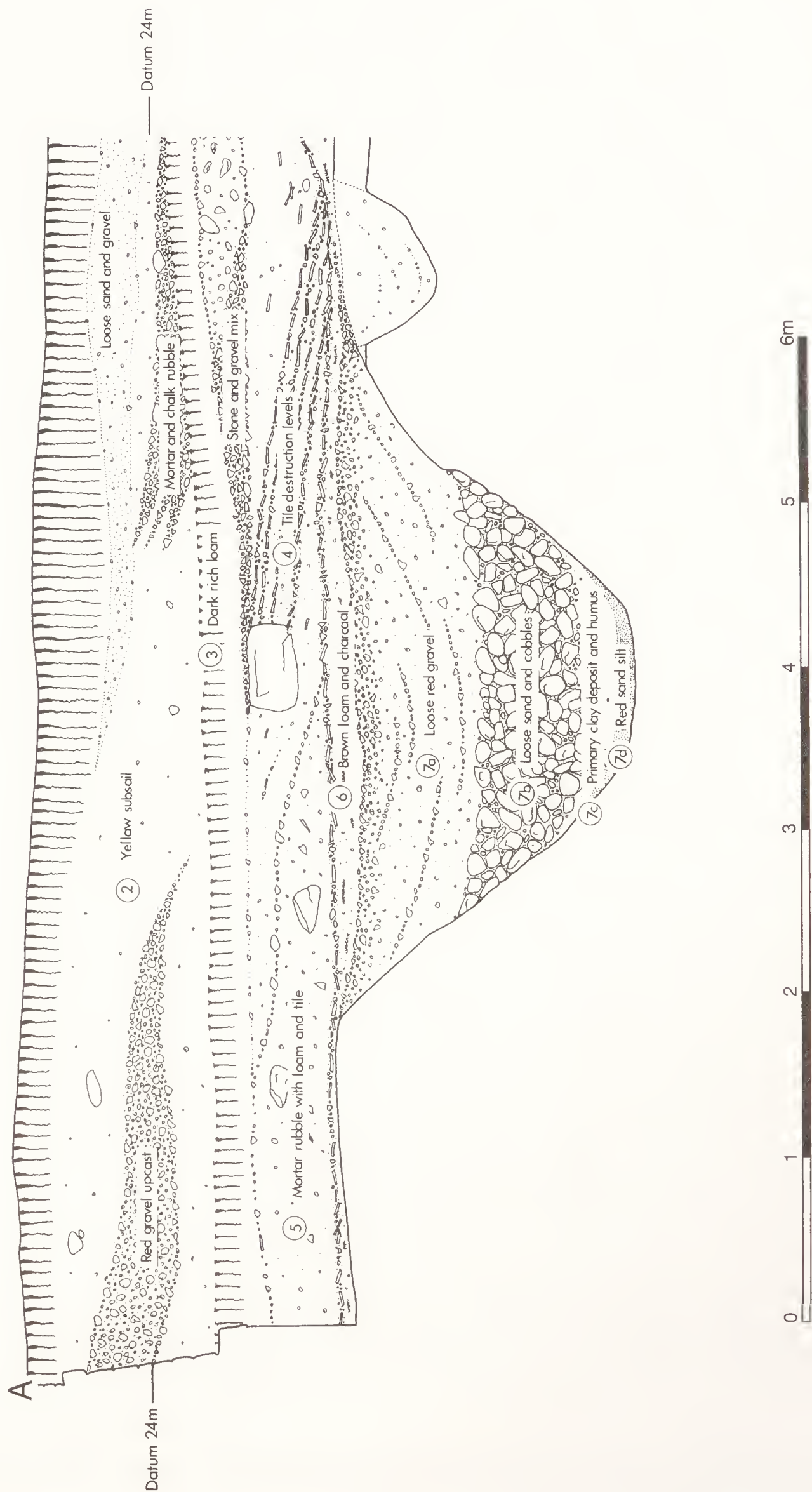


Fig. 15. Low St Agnesgate, Ripon: section through early ditch and superincumbent deposits, south-facing.



This would imply its contraction between the 7th and 12th centuries.

The suggestion that the line of St Marygate post-dates a building which appears to have been in use in the 12th/13th centuries is of considerable interest for the development of the Minster precincts, and for the town as a whole. It is supported by the fact that, further to the north, the same street appears to cut through a cemetery associated with the Ladykirk.<sup>33</sup> If MacKay is correct in identifying 'the place where four roads meet', cited in the court case of 1228, as the junction of Allhallowgate, Stonebridgagate, Priest Lane and St Marygate, the latter must have been in existence by that date.<sup>34</sup> This implies that the line of St Marygate was established at some point in the 12th or early 13th century.

The St Marygate/Stonebridgagate axis runs parallel with Ripon's Market Place, which itself appears to have been laid out obliquely across an earlier route, represented by Kirkgate and the Horsefair/North Street, which followed a curving ridge of high ground northwards to the River Ure (Fig.16).<sup>35</sup> It can therefore be suggested that the Market Place, St Marygate, Stonebridgagate, and perhaps the 'stone bridge' itself, were all established at the same time, as part of a deliberate reorganisation of the layout of the settlement. If this is accepted, it must have taken place in the 12th or early 13th century. Although this conflicts with MacKay's preferred date for the construction of the Market Place on its present site in the *later* 13th century, this is based on the earliest surviving documentary record of 'Le Merketstede' in 1281, which only provides a *terminus ante quem* for its existence. MacKay's suggestion that the 'core' of the settlement before the late 13th century lay firstly along St Marygate and later along Allhallowgate seems more likely to reflect the nature of the earlier documentary sources, their geographical distribution resulting from the vagaries of survival, rather than the actual disposition of early settlement in Ripon.<sup>36</sup>

The evidence from the Deanery Gardens and Low St Agnesgate sites thus hints at a major reorganisation of settlement and street plan in the 12th or early 13th century, and implies modifications to the layout of ecclesiastical property holdings to the north of the Minster. Although the arrangement of these is uncertain, the substantial ditch to the east of Low St Agnesgate may well have marked the boundary of a pre-13th-century ecclesiastical precinct. The building constructed over this ditch is likely to be broadly contemporary with the establishment of a thoroughfare along the line of St Marygate and Low St Agnesgate; whilst it cannot be established with confidence, a 13th/14th-century date for the occupation of this structure seems likely, as the bulk of the pottery from the site is of this period. Additionally, the character of the ditch backfill suggests deliberate preparation for the construction of the building, implying that little time elapsed between infilling and construction, and possibly that the two events were conceived and carried out as a single operation (Fig.15). Overall, it can be suggested that the ecclesiastical precinct was reduced and encompassed within a new street layout in the later 12th or early 13th century, the frontages of which rapidly began to be built up.<sup>37</sup> This provides a context for the

33. *ibid.*

34. *op. cit.* in note 3, 78.

35. Hall and Whyman, *op. cit.* in note 2 for the implications of these observations for the earlier monastic topography of Ripon.

36. *op. cit.* in note 3, 78-9.

37. See Hall and Whyman, *op. cit.* in note 2, for discussion of the possible layout of early ecclesiastical settlement in Ripon.

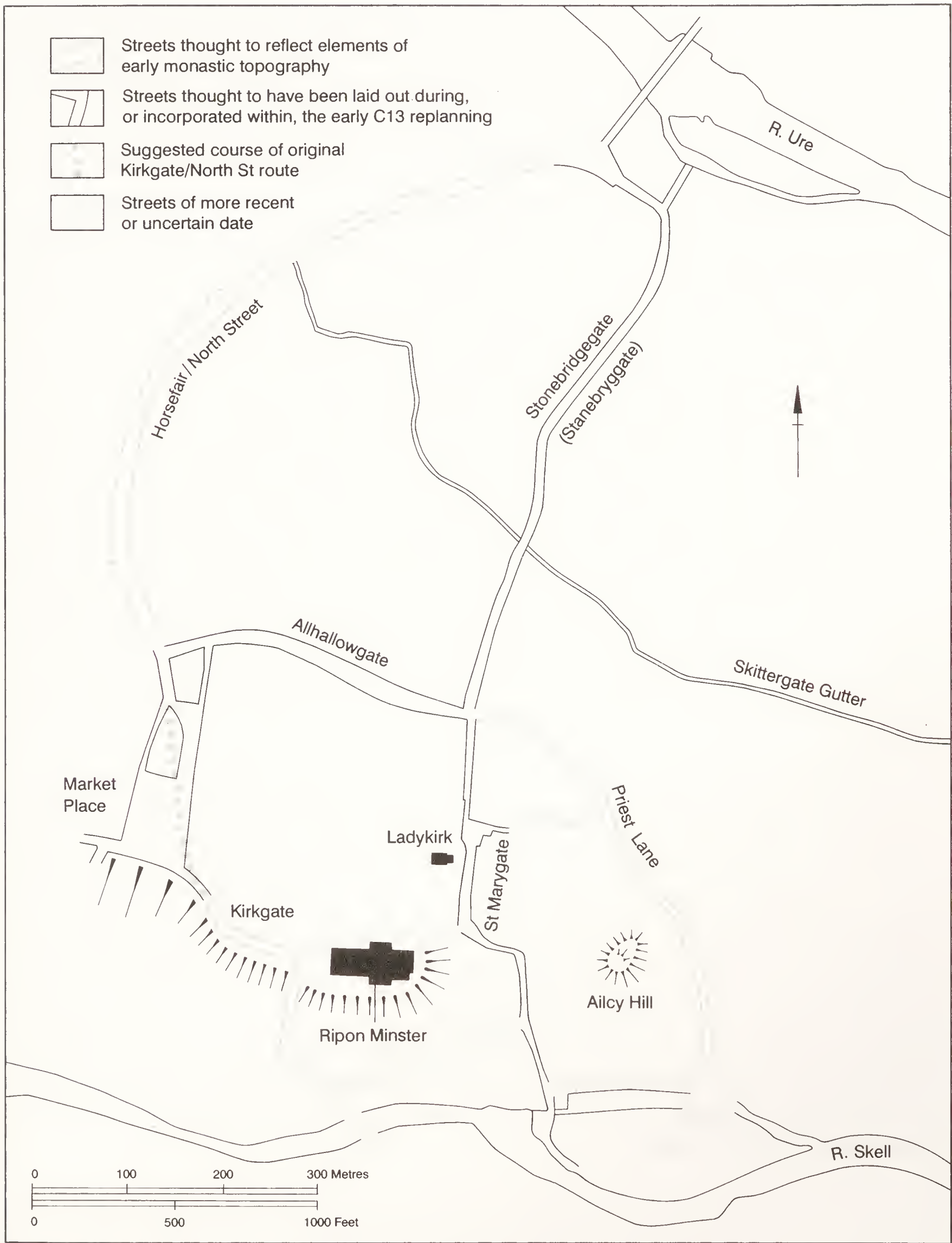


Fig. 16. Ripon: suggested 12th/early 13th century re-planning.



references to burgages in Allhallowgate, dated *c.* 1250, cited by MacKay.<sup>38</sup>

The implications of these changes for the development of Ripon are considerable. It is only in the later 12th and 13th centuries that documents relating to secular settlement begin to appear; in the Pipe Rolls for 1194, Ripon is referred to for the first time as a borough, and paid the sum of £36 13s 4d for the farm of the town; the following year the yield of Ripon tithes, rights and dues was £62 8s.<sup>39</sup> Whilst this situation may have been the result of many years of undocumented earlier development, it is striking that its earliest documentation appears to coincide with a major reorganisation of the layout of the town.

The ceramic evidence from the Deanery Gardens site provides an interesting complement to this picture. The bulk of the assemblage has been dated to the 12th and early 13th centuries, due to the very small proportion of vessels from the Winksley kilns - a local production centre thought to have been manufacturing in volume by the later 13th century. The bulk of the pottery, seemingly in use in buildings which pre-date the re-organised street plan, appears to represent the output of several different local kilns, each producing simple domestic vessels in a common local tradition. The advent of Winksley-type wares in quantity in Ripon may therefore be seen as a shift to more centralised, albeit still local, production, a development broadly contemporary with the suggested re-organisation of the town. Unfortunately there is a lack of later 13th-century assemblages from Ripon to verify this proposal; although Winksley products predominate amongst the pottery recovered from the Low St Agnesgate excavation (which seems most likely to have been associated with the building of the second phase; Fig.13), the archive retains only a selection of the material actually found on the site. Nevertheless, observations made on the basis of evidence currently available are consistent with a fundamental transformation of Ripon, and of its relationship to its hinterland, in the earlier decades of the 13th century.

It should not be assumed that the *appearance* of documentary sources in this period is simply the result of chance survival (although the actual *distribution* of the properties within the town to which surviving records refer might well be); their existence is in itself a function of greater concern on the part of landlords and secular and ecclesiastical authorities to secure income from both rent and the taxation of commercial transactions. The apparent changes in the physical layout of Ripon in the early 13th century (including the integration of ecclesiastical landholdings into an urban streetscape along which properties appear to have been swiftly built up), and the indications of a re-organisation of the system of production which supplied the town, must be understood in this context. The further excavation and publication of sites within Ripon is essential to confirm, amplify or correct the interpretations presented here, and to establish an understanding of this crucial period of urban change on a firmer footing.

---

38. *op. cit.* in note 3, 78.

39. *ibid.*, 75.

*Acknowledgements*

In addition to the named contributors, the author wishes to acknowledge the help of the following in the preparation of this report; David Greenhaugh and Philip Mayes, who directed the excavations discussed here, and Shirley Johnson, who with Mr Mayes prepared material from both sites for publication; Dr Richard Hall of York Archaeological Trust; Mary Kershaw of Harrogate Museums and Art Gallery Service. Finds illustrations are by Charlotte Bentley, Glenys Boyles and Kate Biggs of York Archaeological Trust. Figs 1-4 are by Terry Finnemore, and Fig.16 by Simon Chew, both of York Archaeological Trust.<sup>40</sup> Post-excavation research and the preparation of this article were funded by English Heritage, who also generously provided a grant towards the cost of its publication.

---

40. The authorship of Figs 12-15, which were received by the present writer prepared for publication, and which have been reproduced here unaltered, is unknown.





## YORK AS A TIDAL PORT

by Colin Briden

### 1. *Introduction*

Almost a generation of York archaeologists has now been puzzled by the discovery that Roman waterside structures in the bottoms of their trenches lie below the Mean Summer Level of the River Ouse. Interesting explanations for this phenomenon have appeared in print such as: the river has moved; the river was wider and shallower; things have changed since those days. In fact the immediate explanation is more prosaic. In 1757 the construction of Naburn weir fixed Mean Summer Level at 4.44m OD; this was raised in 1835 to 4.90m OD and again, in 1876, to 5.0m OD; at which level it now remains. The construction of the weir, prompted by a chronic lack of water in the upper Ouse, has had the effect of isolating the City from the tidal regime of the lower sections of the river. This paper is an attempt to reconstruct that regime as it existed in York until the C18 and, more importantly, to establish a set of tidal constants which can be applied to the analysis of waterfront deposits.

Tidal factors were of the utmost importance to the commercial life of the City. Such is the strength of the tides in the lower Ouse that in the days before steam, at any one point on the river, at any one time, a boatman had but two options: to go with the flow, so to speak, or to wait for the turn of the tide; and, as any York-based voyager who has sat out a nine-and-a-half hour ebb at Selby will know, waiting can be a tedious business.

### 2. *The Nature of the Tides in the Humber and Ouse*

Any consideration of the upper reaches of a tidal river must begin with its end - the estuary. At the end of the last ice advance the drainage pattern of East Yorkshire, much altered, began to reassert itself. Initially, with vast quantities of water still locked up in continental ice sheets, the sea-level remained low, leading to considerable downcutting by rivers draining into the North Sea. This, of course, included the Humber, the bed of which at this period probably lay up to 25m below its present level. The subsequent eustatic rise in sea-level led to the deposit and accumulation of clays, silts, sands and gravels in these river valleys, burying forests, which had formed alongside the rivers, to form bands of peat. Fresh water peat dating to about 6,900 BP is known at about - 10m OD beneath Hull; a similar deposit at - 9m OD below Immingham is dated to C 6,700 BP. Peat and submerged forest producing Neolithic finds near the modern low tide mark along the Lincolnshire coast show that sea-levels were still relatively low prior to about 4,000 BP but that by 3,000 BP the sea had reached a level maintained, with small variations, until modern times. Since sea-level determines the long profile and tidal regime of a river it may also be



assumed that in the very broadest terms the tidal Ouse has been behaving in much the same way for the last three thousand years.

The tides are the outcome of the gravitational pull on the oceans exerted by the moon and the sun: a combination of factors, of which the diurnal rotation of the earth is the most important, produces high water every 12.4 hours at a point on the coast. Twice in each lunar month the combined effect of moon and sun working together raises tides which are both higher and lower than average. These tides - Mean High Water Springs, and Mean Low Water Springs (MHWS and MLWS) - occur about 2 days after Full Moon and New Moon. For any inland port short of water - and as will be seen this is a description which almost certainly applied to York - these spring tides are vitally important. They allow heavily laden vessels to reach the port, unload, and then return, empty and less deep in the water, on a succeeding neap tide. The skipper of any vessel which failed to make port on the top of a spring tide would find himself without sufficient water to proceed on every subsequent high water for almost two weeks. The tides which surge in and out of the Ouse and Humber are generated not in the North Sea itself - it is too small - but in the Atlantic. These Atlantic tides pass around the North of Scotland and down into the North Sea: as each passes the Humber mouth, a pulse of water is sent into the estuary. The form of the tide at the Humber mouth is that of a wave: a wave with a length of about 400 km, but a height of only 6m or so. As this tidal wave enters the river the ebb current is first checked, then reversed, until high water has passed; then the ebb begins. Thus every spot on the tidal river sees high water in sequence: if HW Spurn is at, say, midnight, then HW Hull will be at 0100, HW Selby at 0320, and HW Naburn at 0500. Since Naburn is about 120 km from the sea it follows that HW moves up the river at an average speed of about 25 km per hour. Like all waves, however, the speed of this tidal wave is reduced by the shoaling of the water: thus at Spurn the duration of the rise of the tide - the time between LW and HW - is 6 hrs and 20 mins, but at Goole it is only 3 hrs and 30 mins and at Naburn a mere 2 hrs. The wave-like nature of the tides in the river is well illustrated by the fact that HW Hull occurs at the same moment as LW Selby, and that HW Naburn comes about an hour before LW in the North Sea.

This demonstrates how the rise of the tide becomes shorter as it travels up-river - and also, therefore, how the ebb lasts for correspondingly longer. Most importantly, extrapolation of the times of HW gives us the beginnings of our table of tidal constants for the port of York:-

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{HW York} & = \text{HW Hull} + 4 \text{ hrs } 45 \text{ mins} \\ \text{Duration of Rise} & = 1 \text{ hr } 45 \text{ mins} \end{array}$$

The next question to be considered is: what was the level of MHWS in York before the construction of Naburn weir?

### 3. THE TIDAL REGIME AT YORK

The speed with which the tidal wave carries High Water up the river should not be confused with the velocity of the currents themselves. Nevertheless these currents are fast: in the lower Humber the incoming flood tide may reach 6 knots, while at Selby bridge a spring flood tide boils in at around 8 knots - nearly 15 km/hour. With

the incoming flood comes tens of thousands of tons of sediment, much of which falls out of suspension during the gentler ebb phase of the tidal cycle. Thus the bed of the river is built up during the summer, when water-levels are low, and scoured out during the winter and early spring when freshwater levels are at their highest. The superimposition of this annual cycle of deposition on the monthly tidal cycle makes any attempt to reconstruct water depth in the tidal river at Ouse Bridge a rather difficult thing to do. Nevertheless it is possible to arrive at some conclusions as to level AOD of the river itself at MHWS. The following table shows river heights at MHWS for a number of places on the tidal Humber and Ouse:-

TABLE 1

Brough	4.2m AOD
Derwent Mouth	4.2m AOD
Selby	4.2m AOD
Cawood	3.8m AOD
Naburn Lock	3.6m AOD

The consistency in these figures encourages extrapolation to York, five miles up-river from Naburn; which in itself is seven miles up-river from Cawood, thus:-

York MHWS	3.4m AOD
-----------	----------

The former tidal range - the difference in height between MHWS and MLWS - is harder to assess. Naburn is currently around 2m, although the presence of the weir may have distorted this figure upward by ponding back the tide. At Cawood the tidal range is 3m; taken together these measurements suggest that a tidal range at York of around 1.5m may not be wide of the mark. The table of tidal constants for York is, therefore:-

TABLE 2

HW York	=	HW Hull 4 hrs 45 mins
Tidal range at Springs	=	1.5m
Duration of Rise	=	1 hr 45 mins
MHWS	=	3.4m OD

Spring tides themselves vary rhythmically, for astronomical reasons, and more sporadically for other reasons, discussed in the following section. On many occasions MHWS will have been significantly higher than this. The gentler neap tides, falling midway in the month between spring tides, have lower current velocities and a smaller tidal range; thus low water is higher and high water is lower than on springs. The tidal range at neaps at Naburn Lock is currently around 1.0m, occasionally less: under certain circumstances -increased fresh water in the river, for example - high water neaps would hardly have been noticed at York.

4. FACTOR INFLUENCING THE HEIGHT OF HIGH WATER AT YORK

All the figures quoted for high water so far have been mean figures; we must now examine some of the factors which may in practice have influenced tide heights in the past. Some of these are so long term as to appear permanent, at least over a single lifetime; others are purely ephemeral.



(i) *Sea Level*

It will be clear by now that the most important single factor governing the height of the tide in York was the height of the North Sea at high water. There is some evidence that sea levels in the Humber estuary and North Sea have fluctuated since 3000 BP and this would clearly have a profound effect: if, in the Roman period, sea level was appreciably lower then tides may have failed to reach the City more than twice a month.

(ii) *Channel Width*

Evidence from excavation in the City suggests that the Ouse in the Roman period was considerably wider than it is today: this observation is occasionally coupled with the idea that the river was therefore 'shallower'. However, this statement has little meaning in the context of a tidal river, since not low water but high water was the factor governing shipping movement; and high water depends less on channel width than on sea level. Between 1851 and 1961 the width of the Humber between Brough and Hessle varied by as much as 30% either side of average, but with no marked effect on the tidal regime.

Encroachment into the river, however, would have the important effect of increasing current velocity and, therefore, of deepening the bed. This may have been the purpose of Roman encroachment into the Ouse, recorded from at least two sites in the City. It is also likely that the drainage and embankment of such vast wetland areas as Walling Fen, north of Trent Falls, from the C13 on also increased the velocity and duration of the incoming flood tide by channeling the river and reducing the sponge-like effect of the Humber head marshes. Mean high water levels, however, were probably only slightly affected.

(iii) *Ephemeral Factors*

On a day-to-day basis High Water levels in the City would be quite noticeably altered by such factors as strong winds in the Humber and heavy rain in the upland catchment areas of the Ouse. A south-westerly gale can delay high water in the river by as much as half an hour; an onshore gale will increase the height of the tide considerably. Conversely a high level of freshwater in the river would have masked any tidal effects - and, by eliminating the flood tide, would have made the City approachable by river, albeit against a strong downstream flow.

## 5. EVIDENCE FROM EARLY SURVEYS AND FROM CONTROLLED ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION

The tidal constants we have derived for the river at Ouse Bridge can be checked against two other kinds of information: soundings taken in the river before 1757, and recorded levels at which Roman riverside structures have been found during controlled excavation close to the river, both in York and elsewhere.

A. EARLY HYDROGRAPHIC SURVEY DATA

In 1688 the sluice at the mouth of Dutch River, below Goole, collapsed. This allowed the incoming flood to move freely up the River Don - as it has ever since - and also, claimed the Yorkshire antiquary, de la Pryme, deprived York of two feet of water on spring tides. Since the sluice had been built at Vermuyden's own expense no-one could be found to repair it and it was with a sense of real grievance that in 1699 the Corporation invited Thomas Surbey to 'view' the river between York and Hull Roads. Surbey began on 5th May and despite the temporary loss of his boat at Howdendyke was back in York to report on 22nd May. At low water, in Fulford, he found 8 inches of water; and he noted a tidal rise of no more than three feet in that stretch of the river. He noted also that ships drawing seven feet could reach Shenton's Pit (about five miles below York) but no further. A second set of soundings was produced by J Perry in 1727: these confirm Surbey's findings. Both sets, metricised, can be tabulated as follows:-

TABLE 3  
TIDAL RANGE AT MHWS

	Surbey 1690	Perry 1727
Acaster Malbis		1.77m
Fulford	0.92	1.03m
Ouse Bridge		0.77m

Perry also remarks that at neaps the rise of the tide at Fulford was '2" - or not at all'. If, by the late C17, the tides really did run two feet lower than before - and there seems no reason to doubt it since it was a source of universal complaint - then we may be justified in adding this figure to that given by Perry to derive a tidal range at earlier periods at MHWS in the City of about 1.40m. This is close to our projected figure of 1.50m. The difference is more than adequately accounted for by the complicating factors in the tidal regime described above.

B. LEVELS OBTAINED FROM THE CONTROLLED EXCAVATION OF ROMAN WATERSIDE STRUCTURES

a) *The Ouse and Humber*

- (i) *Brough on Humber (Petuaria)*  
Observations by Wachter of a sewer trench excavation in Brough revealed an intertidal foreshore containing worm Samian of Antonine date, and coarse pottery of the second and third centuries, at around 2.75m AOD. This foreshore, and the south-west side of the walled town, were subsequently buried under freshwater silt by tides which, Wachter estimated, reached around 4.0m AOD. Reasonably enough these are interpreted as high spring tides: the correspondence with modern levels is noteworthy (Table 1). This evidence strongly supports the idea of a slightly raised sea level towards the end of the Roman period, leading to increased silting and abandonment of the port at Brough in the second half of the fourth century. It must be emphasised,



however, that the level of the tides postulated by Wachter is a little lower than that of modern MHWS and so it is not likely that mean levels were above 3.4m OD in York even during this late Roman transgression.

(ii) 58-9 Skeldergate, York

This riverside site within the colonia was excavated by YAT in 1973-5. A machine-cut trench located a riverside road: unfortunately levels are missing from the published section but the road seems to have been above 5.00 OD with the top of the camber at around 5.80m. Thus the road was at least 1.5m above projected MHWS.

(iii) Rougier Street, York

A site within the Roman colonia, excavated by YAT, revealed a natural stream at about 5.00m OD and the surface of a Roman road at 6.5m OD.

(iv) North Street, York

Roman deposits at this riverside site included timber and later stone structures, enveloped in river silts, which have been interpreted as the base of revetments or wharves:-

Timber slot and piles :	1.95m OD - 2.39m OD
Sandstone structure :	2.48m OD - 2.75m OD
Late Roman Stone Structure :	2.99m OD - 3.15m OD

*b) The Foss*

*Garden Place*

Excavations here in 1950 revealed the 'old course' of the Foss at 3.35m -4.58m OD. The base for a crane was found at 5.26m OD: this was associated with a possible wharf and a double row of wooden piles in the bed of the river adjoining.

## 6. CONCLUSION

It will be seen that in general these levels accord well with our postulated level for MHWS at York of 3.40m OD. The rather higher level of (presumed) Roman riverside structures on the Foss is interesting and hints at the existence of a tidal barrage or flashlock at its junction with the Ouse.

What aspect then, would the river in York present to an interested observer on Ouse Bridge at almost any date before the construction of Naburn Lock in 1757? Let us take as our example a tide 2 days after a new moon in September. This is an equinoctial spring tide, one of the lowest and highest tides of the year; after a dry summer the bed of the river has accumulated a substantial thickness of sediment by deposition out of the sluggish current. High water in Hull that day is at 0800 hrs; as we have seen, it is simultaneously low water in Selby. Between the North Sea and Hull the tide is ebbing; between Hull and Selby the water is rising. Between Selby and York the last of the previous tide is ebbing. At 1100 hrs it is low water at York - possibly very low indeed, only inches deep. Almost imperceptibly the ebb slows and stops and the river begins to rise. With little freshwater to prevent it, the river begins to flow backwards, rising all the time. At half-tide, around 1130, the first heavily-laden ships begin to appear in the river from Selby and the Humber, taking advantage

not only of the favourable current but also of the fact that should they happen to touch on a shoal - the infamous clay hutts - the rising tide coming up behind will float them off. Equally heavily-laden ships are moving off down-river, trading the disadvantage of punching a foul tide against the need for deep water in the upper reaches of the river. At 1245 it is high water York, and the river has risen around 1.5m to 3.40m OD, in 1¾ hours. Almost immediately the tide turns, picking up speed to the point where sailing or rowing vessels cannot overcome the current. Any unfortunates who have missed the tide and run aground down river now have little option but to transfer some of their load to lighten ship and hope to make it on the next, lower, tide.

This was the pattern of life on the river in York for centuries; as it still is today in Selby, a tidal port. The water-borne commerce of both towns depended before the age of steam not merely on the existence of the river but on the powerful tides that moved up and down the river, carrying all before them. The pattern of these tides seems, in three thousand years, to have changed only in detail, adjusted here and there by changing sea levels, the raising of levees and embankments, and the draining of wetlands. If the Ferriby boats ever came to York, this is how they did it.





## THE PRIVY COUNCIL AND 'VAGARANT RUNAGATE' PRIESTS IN ELIZABETHAN YORK

by Phillip V. Thomas

In 1583 a document intended "for maintenaunce of publique and Christian Peace, against certeine stirrers of sedition", contained the following description of seminary and Jesuit priests who entered England as the vanguard of the Counter Reformation:

persons that have foresaken their natiue countries, being of diuers conditions and qualities some not able to liue at home but in beggerie...some banckerupt Marchants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being not contented to learne to obey the lawes of the lande, have many yeres running up and downe...vnder secret maskes, some of priesthood, some of other inferior orders, with titles of seminaries; for some of the meaner sort, and of Jesuites, for the stayers and ranker sort, and such like, but yet so warely they crept into the land....bringing with them certeine Romish trash, as of their hallowed waxes, their *Agnus Dei*, many kinde of beades, and such like...[Seminaries and Jesuit scholars] haue wandered vp and downe in corners, in disguised sort, changing their tytles, names, and maner of apparel...Examine, further, how these vagarant, disguised, vnarmed spies have answered, when they were taken and demanded, what they thought of the bull of Pope Pius Quintus, which was published to deprive the Queenes Maiestie, and to warrant her subiectes to disobey her.<sup>1</sup>

These are people who did not conform to the stereotype of vagrants who ventured to London and the provincial towns in the sixteenth century, begged in the streets and outside people's houses, dossed on pavements, slept in church porches and barns, squatted in slum tenements, or loitered at alehouses, 'tippling' houses and playhouses. Thanks to the pioneering research of E.M. Leonard, V. Judges and Frank Aydelotte at the beginning of this century, and more recently A L. Beier, William Chambliss, Peter Clark, Robert Jütte, John Pound and Paul Slack, we know more about the poor, underemployed, uneducated and jobless sectors of Tudor and early Stuart society. However, although these scholars have provided great insights into this important aspect of early modern society, I am more interested in those 'rogues and vagabonds' who were well-travelled, educated, articulate and therefore had the means and reason to spread disorder and possible treason - namely, the seminary and Jesuit priests.<sup>2</sup>

In this article I will examine the role and actions of Elizabeth I's Privy Council in suppressing these roaming missionaries in and around Elizabethan York. As

---

1. *The Harleian Miscellany*, I (London, 1808), pp.492, 511.

2. For example, see Jeffrey S. Alder, 'A Historical Analysis of the Law of Vagrancy', *Criminology*, 27, 2 (May, 1989), pp.210-13; William J. Chambliss's reply, 'On Trashing Marxist Criminology' and Adler's 'Rejoinder to Chambliss' in *ibid.*, pp.231-50. See the arguments presented by A.L. Beier and J.F. Pound in 'Debate: Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England', *Past and Present*, 71 (1976), pp. 126-34.



previous writers have shown on this matter, it is not possible to isolate York from the rest of the county because they were closely intertwined in virtually every aspect of socio-political culture.<sup>3</sup> The Privy Council had long been engaged in the business of suppressing vagrancy because it represented a threat to law and order. The fact that seminarists and Jesuits disguised themselves as low-born locals - beggars, paupers, labourers, servants, pedlars, tinkers, traders, soldiers - meant that the Privy Council and the local authorities to whom it sent orders, now faced a more subtle variation of this insurgency. The theme of disguise mentioned in the above-cited tract was a recognised element in the way that priests worked and travelled in Elizabethan England. John Baxter's *A Toile for Two-Legged Foxes* (1600), for example, depicted Jesuits as being "like vagrant rogues", "stragling extraugants, roguish pedlars of whorish merchandice" and wearing their "hotch-potch and miserable mingle mangle" of popish beliefs "patched together like a beggars cloake made of a thousand shreds."<sup>4</sup> Some related themes will be outlined in this article: the role of the Privy Council in 'anti-priest' legislation; the influential attitudes and opinions of Elizabeth I's most trusted advisers on the Privy Council; the process by which the priests became associated with the character of vagrancy; and the achievements - or otherwise - of interactions between central and local authority.

The term 'seminary priest' first appeared in the Act of 1585 (27 Eliz. I, c.2) to distinguish a younger generation of Catholic priests from the monks and 'old' or 'massing' priests who survived the traumas of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I.<sup>5</sup> Generally, seminarists were locally born but they trained abroad in colleges at Douai, Seville, Rome and Valladolid before being sent back to England to reinvigorate the Catholic faith and allegiance to Rome. The Jesuits, who had been in England since the 1540s in an official capacity, aroused local suspicions because of their dress, language and Mary's deliberate policy of trying to involve them in religious matters.<sup>6</sup> Soon, "preachers warned their congregations that the Jesuits hovered dangerously outside the kingdom, waiting anxiously for an opportunity to enter and to do tremendous harm."<sup>7</sup> The Jesuits' arrival in 1580, by which time England had officially become a Protestant country, attracted government attention and generated plenty of hysteria. Jesuits, because they were closely associated with Spain and were articulate and ready to die for their cause, were especially vilified and feared by central and local authorities loyal to the Elizabethan religious settlement. It is ironic that when legislation became more repressive because of a much-feared "Jesuit invasion in force", the initial subversives in England numbered only three people - Edmund Campion, Robert Parsons and Ralph Emerson, a lay

- 
3. Hugh Aveling, 'The Recusancy Papers of the Meynell Family of North Kilvington, North Riding of York. 1596-1676', in *Miscellanea*. CRS, LVI (London, 1964), pp.ix-112; 'Some Aspects of Yorkshire Catholic Recusant History, 1558-1791', in *Studies in Church History, IV. The Province of York*, ed. G.J. Cuming (Leiden, 1967), pp.98-121; and 'The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1558-1790', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, X (1962-63), esp. pp.203-5, 211-29 A.G. Dickens, 'The First Stages of Romanist Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1560-1590', in A.G. Dickens, *Reformation Studies* (London, 1982), pp.159-184; and 'The Extent and Character of Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1604', *ibid.*, pp.185-210. J.C. Hill, 'Puritans and 'The Dark Corners of the Land', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Ser., 13 (1963), pp.77-102.
  4. Elizabeth Heale, 'Spenser's Malengine, Missionary Priests, and the Means of Justice', *The Review of English Studies*, New Ser., XLI, 162 (May, 1990), p.175.
  5. Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, p.ix.
  6. Thomas M. McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits 1555-1650*. CRS, 74 (London, 1994), pp.5-6.
  7. *Ibid.*, p.8.



brother.<sup>8</sup>

Until 1579-80, when the priests' revitalisation of Catholicism gained strength, papal and Spanish intervention in Ireland loomed and the revival of French influence in Scotland raised the spectre of a united Catholic campaign against England, it was the House of Commons which took the lead in formulating legislation for the punishment of Catholics and their abettors. Notwithstanding Sir Thomas Smith's opinion in 1573 that Catholicism was to all intents and purposes a conspiratorial creed, "a fowle knot of papisticall justices of peace...and of massing priests"<sup>9</sup>, the Privy Council stayed cautious for the bulk of the decade for two reasons. Firstly, Elizabeth I's privy councillors knew of her vehement dislike of outright persecution, and in the absence of proof concerning recusancy or the harbouring of seminary priests, were more inclined to mitigate the penal laws. Secondly, councillors had to remind the more fiery elements in Parliament that the law distinguished between recusants on one hand and priests on the other.<sup>10</sup> But Cuthbert Mayne's capture in Cornwall in June 1577 aroused the Privy Council's need to act on the spread of dissatisfaction more generally.<sup>11</sup> Its decision on 26 July 1580 to imprison influential recusants, a move intended to deprive the projected mission of seminary and Jesuit priests of important local contacts<sup>12</sup>, symbolised the link the Privy Council made between priests' activities and their potential and real converts to the committing of treason.

All the major laws under which Parliament proceeded against Catholics between 1571 and 1593 have been analysed elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> Parliamentary laws alone had little or no effect in dealing satisfactorily with the priests, their harbourers or with young Englishmen prepared to go abroad to the seminaries and then return clandestinely. The laws as they stood, the pressures on justices of the peace at the quarter sessions, the impediments in the way of episcopal commissioners, their church courts and the emphasis on fines to deter local Catholics from consorting with seminary priests or propagating their beliefs, undermined the anti-missionary drive by the end of the 1570s. Justices of the peace could hardly impose anything more than outward conformity, reluctant as they were to prosecute people who were in many cases their

---

8. DNB, VIII, p.400; Frances Edwards, *The Jesuits in England from 1580 to the present day* (Tunbridge Wells, Kent, 1985), p.24.

9. Thomas Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times: A Series of Original Letters*, I (London, 1838), pp.460-61.

10. Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth*, I (Oxford, 1925), pp.293-95.

11. *Ibid.*, p.280; John H. Chapman, 'The Persecution under Elizabeth', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, IX (1881), pp.27-29.

12. Anthony G. Petti (ed.), *Recusant Documents from the Ellesmere Manuscripts*. CRS, 60 (London, 1968), p.5n.

13. The relevant statutes are printed in: J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents A.D. 1485-1603 with an historical commentary* (Cambridge, 1951), pp.146-63, 413-17; G.R. Elton (ed.) *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1982), pp.428-37; Henry Gee and William John Hardy (eds.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London, 1896), pp.485-92. For studies of anti-Catholic legislation see: J.C.H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London, 1976), pp.23-51; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven, 1992), Part II, esp. pp.565-93; Alan Dures, *English Catholicism 1558-1642: Continuity and Change* (Harlow, Essex, 1983), pp.1-39; Adrian Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I* (London, 1978); and J.E. Neale, *Elizabeth and Her Parliaments 1559-1601*, 2 vols. (London, 1953-57), *passim*.



social superiors, magisterial colleagues, relatives or neighbours.<sup>14</sup> The Privy Council had to devise other ways to counter the priests. It issued special royal and conciliar proclamations in the 1580s and 1590s to carefully selected magistrates for dealing with missionary priests and their harbourers, the recusants. A study of the royal proclamations of 1580, 1581 and 1582 shows that these assisted the government and local magistrates in defining offences falling within existing treason legislation, and thereby placing them within the jurisdiction of the common law courts.<sup>15</sup> Privy councillors, secondly, impressed on local administrators the view that seminarists and Jesuits were no better than vagrants.

Fortunately, Elizabeth's foremost advisers' opinions on the subject of seminary and Jesuit priests as vagrants have been recorded. One of the earliest was by Henry Hastings, the third Earl of Huntingdon and who will emerge as one of the central figures in the hunting down, apprehension and punishment of 'runagate' priests and their harbourers. He wrote to York's corporation in 1578 and warned it about "these Romish, runnagate, reconciling priests...who under the pretence of holiness seek most wickedly to steal the hearts of the simple people from their God and their lawful and undoubted prince."<sup>16</sup> Sir Francis Walsingham, with his spies sending him reports on priests as they pursued them in the Midlands and the North, pictured priests as running "from county to county and house to house and do draw by persuasion numbers of her Majesty's subjects to fall away in religion."<sup>17</sup> William Cecil, Lord Burghley, linked the vagrancy of priests to Catholic loyalty generally. Priests' actions were tantamount to treason against the state in *The Execution of Justice in England* (1583). He wrote it to for two reasons. Firstly, to justify the sentencing to death of 19 priests and laymen over the previous two years. Secondly, to show that missionary priests were not executed for their religion but because their absolving of English people from obedience to Elizabeth I was a blatant political act. Priests were hunted down because they were purveyors of an international conspiracy aiming, ultimately, to ensure that all Catholics worked together to bring to actuality a possible Spanish invasion of their own country:

These disguised persons (called schollars or Priestes) hauing bene first conuersant of long time with the Traitours beyond the sea in all their conspiracies, came hither by stealth in time of warre and rebellion by commaundement of the Capitall enemye the Pope or his Legates, to be secret espialles & explorers in the Realme for the pope...with their hallowed baggages from Rome to poyson the sences of the subiectes, powring into their hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against her Maiestie and the Lawes of the Realme, and also to kindle and set on fire the hearts of discontented subiectes with the names of rebellion...These kinds of seditious actions for the seruice of the pope and the traitours and rebels abroade, haue made them traitours: not their bookes nor their beades...nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or rites of the Church of Rome.<sup>18</sup>

14. Roger B. Manning, 'Elizabethan Recusancy Commissions', *The Historical Journal*, 15, 1 (March, 1972), p.24.

15. Frederic A. Youngs, Jr., 'Definitions of Treason in an Elizabethan Proclamation', *The Historical Journal* 14, 4 (December, 1971), pp.675-91. See the wording of the 1582 proclamation, sent by the Venetian ambassador to France, Giovanni Moro, to his masters. In *CSP, Venetian, 1581-1591*, pp.35-36.

16. John Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the Country of Leicester*, III, Part 2 (London, reprinted 1971), p.585.

17. Read, *op. cit.*, II, pp.312, 324-25.

18. Lord Burghley, *The Execution of Justice in England* quoted in Heale, *op. cit.*, p.173.



Burghley was angered by the way that priests arrived in England "in disguising habites...as roisters or ruffins...like to the basest common people."<sup>19</sup> Sir Christopher Hatton called them "tag and rag" in Parliament and Sir Walter Mildmay also spoke in Parliament when he referred to priests as "a rabble of vagrant runagates."<sup>20</sup>

The utterances by Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, are worth recording. They were remorselessly consistent and sum up the Privy Council's belief in Catholic conspiracies concocted to engineer the downfall of Protestant England. Mildmay used words to effect in Parliament when bills against Catholics and Jesuits were being discussed, and he was not averse to stating them outside Parliament either. His speech regarding supply on 25 January 1581 contained a lengthy tirade against dissembling papists, the Pope's role in the Northern Rebellion, the Earl of Desmond's revolt in Ireland, "the swarming hither of a number of popish preistes and monkish Jesuites", and the "rable of vagarant fryers" newly sprung up. Clemency for recusants who received them was dangerous and only engendered in them:

a more arrogant and contemptuous spirit, so as they have presumed not only to disobey the lawes and orders of the realme, but also to accept from Rome secrett absolucions, reconciliations..by the handes of lewde/runagate preistes and Jesuites, haboring and interteyning them even in their howses, thereby shewing an obedience to the Pope.<sup>21</sup>

Mildmay's influence on the spirit of the 1585 Act against Jesuits and seminarists showed in his remark that England needed "straight lawes...against troublers of this state, specifically "these malycious raginge runagates, these Jesuites and priestes" of Rome.<sup>22</sup>

The Privy Council met the challenge of the forces of Catholicism by taking the affairs of missionary priests and their recusant abettors out of the hands of justices of the peace, and into the lap of special commissions. A mid-1580s "Commission For Banishing Jesuits and Seminary Priests" advertised the Privy Council's determination for authorised officers, ranging from judges to constables, with the assent of any six privy councillors, to banish "divers other Jesuites, seminarie priestes and other wandring and Massing priestes of like affeccion" out of the country.<sup>23</sup> Similarly worded commissions were regularly dispatched to every English county after February 1586, conferring wide powers and providing for more cooperation with other magistrates and officers charged with finding and punishing priests and recusants. To overcome the limitations of jurisdiction in one town or county, commissioners in one locality could notify those of another on the possible whereabouts of an elusive priest. Commissioners in all shires, towns and ports encouraged informers to keep track of suspected priests' and their confederates' movements, record the names and activities of any unknown visitors, and search for suspicious books.<sup>24</sup>

19. *Ibid.*, p.178.

20. *Ibid.*

21. T.E. Hartley (ed.), *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I...1558-1581* (London, 1981), pp.504-5.

22. Stanford E. Lehmberg, *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government* (Austin, 1964), pp.239-41.

23. Petti, *op. cit.*, pp.19-23; *Draft Calendar of Patent Rolls 30 Elizabeth I 1587-1588* (C66/1304-1321). List & Index Society, 247 (Kew, Richmond, 1992), pp.12-13. These sentiments were repeated in the Proclamation against Jesuits in November 1591.

24. Manning, *op. cit.*, pp.29-32; G.B. Harrison, *The Elizabethan Journals 1591-1603*, I (London, 1938), p.87.



The Privy Council, through the 1585 “Act Against Jesuits and Seminarists” with its drastic penalties for harbouring priests, and fast moving recusant commissions and their officers, harassed the Jesuits. Correspondence from the Continent to Sir Francis Walsingham kept him informed of the numbers of Jesuits he should expect to land in England and spread their ‘Popish conventicles’.<sup>25</sup> In their travels to, in and between urban communities, seminarists and Jesuits managed to survive. Much to the detestation of Burghley and the government they recruited young Englishmen to leave the country and be taught in foreign seminaries. Father Henry Garnet, said one report, placed them “in some blind alley near the water, until winde serves for passage, which fitting, the vessell (which is some old hoy...to avoid suspicions)” escaped to the Continent via Gravesend or in barks, “commonly beyond Greenwich.”<sup>26</sup> The vagabond nature of their existence was noted in a 1591 proclamation which condemned locally-born seminarists as dissolute youths of base birth, who partly for “lack of living” became rebels, fugitives and traitors.<sup>27</sup>

As stated previously, if a priest wanted to divert attention it was usual for him to assume the guise of a commoner, servant, even a beggar. When Robert Persons started his ministry after reaching Dover on 12 June 1580, he “went disguised as a soldier of choleric disposition” while Robert Southwell and John Gerard passed themselves off as country gentlemen. Southwell went to the extent of being conversant with the terminology for falconry and hunting. Nicholas Owen rode about in an old cloak “of sad green cloth with sleeves caped with tawny velvet and little gold stripes turning on the cape.”<sup>28</sup> The effect this sort of activity had on the authorities was electric. In parliamentary speeches, conciliar directives or royal proclamations, they associated subversive Catholics all the more with the unemployed and petty criminals. Burghley’s speech about priests coming in disguise “all in their apparell as roisterers and ruffians” was justified and no exaggeration.<sup>29</sup> Edmund Campion, for instance, being part of “a rable of vagrant and seditious preistes and fryers...beeinge misnamed and disguised in a very ruffianlike sorte...from place to place by the space of one whole yeare wandred...throughe divers sheires, quittinge noe tyme nor occasion to put in ure and fynishe his lewde enterprise.”<sup>30</sup> Not all disguises worked, of course, and they often came undone because priests tried to do too much, like attempting to carry vestments and altar furniture for the celebration of Mass or a breviary. Bernard Patterson, who would escape from York Castle in 1593, had his serving man, “a base begotten desperate and dangerous fellow”, carry “the priest’s massing vestments, books, etc.”<sup>31</sup>

One of the most striking features, which all officials entrusted with the duty of

---

25. *CSP, Foreign, 1581-1582*, pp.572, 623; *CSP, Foreign, 1582*, pp.159-60; *CSP, Foreign, 1583 and Addenda*, pp.310, 615; *CSP, Foreign, 1586-1588*, pp.178, 656.

26. A.C.F. Beales, 'Popish Schools Under James I', *The Month*, New Ser., 7, 4 (April, 1952), pp.200-1.

27. Leo Hicks, 'Father Persons, S.J., and the Seminaries in Spain', *The Month*, CLVII, 801 (March, 1931), p.193.

28. *DNB*, XLIII, p.412; Morey, *op. cit.*, pp.177, 182.

29. Morey, *op. cit.*, p.176.

30. Petti, *op. cit.*, p.6.

31. Morey, *op. cit.*, p.179. In 1595 William Freeman's six year ministry ended when he was found with a breviary under his hat. *Ibid.*

enforcing religious conformity in York and Yorkshire agreed, was the degree of Catholic obstinacy they encountered. Hugh Aveling and A.G. Dickens have found that Catholic families, amongst the gentry at least, maintained strong bonds of friendship, kinship and alliance. The tenacity of their religion, however, was in fact strongest in fringe areas furthest away from York, namely: Allertonshire, Richmondshire and Cleveland in North Riding; the north and west of West Riding; coastal Holderness, Howdenshire and the southern edges of the Wolds in East Riding. Contemporary visitation records did not point to a uniform or deliberate denial of reformed doctrines of worship or the Elizabethan injunctions. Local recusants were cowed into submission by northern ecclesiastical commissioners in the 1570s, but things changed in the 1580s. Under the influence of seminarists and Jesuit priests there was a corresponding rise in recusants refusing to bring children to baptism and catechism, churchwardens' failing to enforce the financial penalties on church absentees, and the harbouring of suspicious persons.<sup>32</sup>

Privy councillors and local authorities accepted as fact that Jesuits and seminarists actively goaded local Catholics of all classes to be disobedient: "the great declynyngge of...subjects from the religion established" was in large part caused "by the seditious persuasion of Jesuits and Popish priests sent from foreign countries."<sup>33</sup> The Bishop of Carlisle wrote to Lord Burghley on 27 October 1570 that the inhabitants of Yorkshire indulged in 'popery' and were less conformable in religion than the people of Westmorland and Cumberland.<sup>34</sup> Archbishop Sandys told the Privy Council in October 1577 that obstinate people in his diocese refused to go to church, being "stiff-necked" and "wilfull."<sup>35</sup> Even the Earl of Huntingdon, depicted by the Bishop of Chester as more purposeful than any two bishops put together when it came to tracking down "the vagrant priests", despaired of Jesuits' and seminarists' insurgency. On the occasion when he led a successful raid on Arthington House, 20 miles west of York, following a tip-off on priests hiding there, he wrote to Walsingham: "It is such a country as I did not expect to find so near York, and the chief inhabitants... have now shown themselves what they are indeed."<sup>36</sup>

After the calamitous Northern Rebellion in 1569 Elizabeth I's government reinforced the northern administration. It appointed the active Puritan, Edmund Grindal, as Archbishop of York in 1571 and Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon became President of the Council in the North in 1572. Claire Cross's research on this earl reveal a most powerful and vigorous noble with fervent Puritan leanings, who made a great impact on administration and policy. As lord lieutenant of Leicestershire and Rutland, 1559 and 1569 respectively, and later as head of the Council of the North, Hastings was undoubtedly one of the most important link men' for the Privy Council and the localities over which he exercised jurisdiction. He worked closely with town corporations and county authorities on matters of law and order. This does not mean that tensions between him and the local authorities did not exist but his physical presence in York lent weight to his authority. As England drifted closer to war with Spain, the earl took active measures in scouring

---

32. See footnote 3.

33. HMC, *First Report* (London, 1874), p.108.

34. *CSP, Domestic, 1547-1580*, p.395.

35. *Ibid.*, p.561.

36. *CSP, Domestic, Addenda, 1580-1625*, pp.11-12, 45.



Yorkshire for Jesuits, seminary priests and their confederates.<sup>37</sup>

Grindal and Huntingdon had a close partnership and initiated a determined attack on Catholicism in the decade 1572-1582. Through various methods of investigation - vigilant juries, informers and spies, churchwardens, and clergy and presenting recusants before the courts - priests were located, hunted down and rounded up.<sup>38</sup> The task facing Huntingdon, Walsingham or the Archbishop of York and the officials with whom they worked and sent information to the Privy Council, was complicated by the local origins of seminary and Jesuit priests and their familiarity with Yorkshire. Between 1583 and 1603 approximately 96 seminary priests of Yorkshire, out of which some 42 appear to have come from families in the West Riding, arrived on the English mission. Adding to these the 18 Yorkshiremen (6 to the West Riding) who arrived by 1582, there were some 50 men who gravitated toward the Riding.<sup>39</sup> It is less clear when the Jesuits began working in Yorkshire after Campion's obscure visit in 1581 but it is known they were a mere handful in comparison to seminary priests; by 1603 there may have been only five or six Jesuits operating in a wide arc throughout the north. The Jesuit mission proper is said to have begun with the landing of Richard Holtby and John Curry on the north coast on 14 January 1591, although John Gerard (having 'terrorised' Norwich a few years before) was moving about the northern shires in 1591-92. One of their number was Richard Mush, a Knaresborough native and formerly a York physician's servant, so whether Jesuit or seminary, they were skilled enough to lose themselves among the population who give them moral succour.<sup>40</sup> One Yorkshire family was bound over by the High Commission in December 1580 with instructions that they go to divine service and hear sermons: "In case at any time hereafter, any papistical priest or other person disobedient in religion resort to his or their house or company, he shall apprehend and bring him before the Commissioners."<sup>41</sup>

The confession of Campion alerted the Privy Council to covert Catholic support in Yorkshire. In August 1581 the Earl of Huntingdon received orders to search the houses of Campion's alleged confederates, "for bookes and other superstitious stuffe" and to interrogate "others in their familie and neighbourhoode" on how many and on what occasions they were in his company and heard Mass, confession etc.<sup>42</sup> In 1582 a priest carrying a pike staff on his shoulders passed himself off as a local. Twenty years later the seminary James Harrison was caught in a house whose owner "had but two or three kine and nine sheep, and a poor cottage poorly furnished, with 12 acres of land."<sup>43</sup> And Valentine Thomas was suspected of being familiar:

with divers priests in the North part of England, that there were a number which were entertained and relieved by the Catholics, as he termeth them, of

---

37. *DNB*, XXV, pp.126-28; Claire Cross, 'The Third Earl of Huntingdon and Trials of Catholics in the North, 1581-1595', *RH*, 8, 3 (October, 1965), pp.136-46; and *The Puritan Earl: The Life of Henry Hastings Third Earl of Huntingdon 1536-1595* (London, 1966).

38. Aveling, *op. cit.* (1962-63), pp.193; 209-10.

39. *Ibid.*, p.216.

40. *Ibid.*, pp.216-18.

41. *CSP, Domestic, Addenda, 1580-1625*, p.27.

42. *APC 1581-1582*, pp.152, 282.

43. *CSP, Domestic, Addenda, 1580-1625*, p.71; Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, pp.150-51; *HMC, Marquis of Salisbury*, Part XII, p.83.

that country, and that there were more come over of late about Christmas...I am assured that most of them were Lancashire and Yorkshire men...such as they can persuade to be Papists they will consequently soon persuade to be traitors.<sup>44</sup>

The business of apprehending Jesuits, seminarists and their confederates became a perplexing one for the central government. Operations which had York as their target could not be contained there because subversives fled into the county's interior or other counties. These were usually Lancashire, Durham, Lincolnshire, Cheshire, Westmorland and Northumberland, but some managed to reach London. To cite a few cases: the Privy Council instructed the Earl of Huntingdon to assist the Bishop of Durham, who had unearthed but could not capture "certen masse priestes and other personnes outlawed and condemned for Highe Treason"; the Privy Council demanded the sending down of a Lincolnshire man arrested in York, Martine Gravener; and lastly the Earl of Huntingdon was asked by the council to apprehend the Yorkshire-born William Bell, "fledd from hence...for saying of a Masse."<sup>45</sup>

A setback for the Privy Council was the impossibility of keeping watch on every point of entry along the northern or more specifically, the Yorkshire coasts. The Earl of Huntingdon had only so much in the way of personnel and resources to comb the shores and coastal roads for Jesuits and seminary priests. Locally, he was much admired for his "incredible toyle day and night" yet the Privy Council demanded that he and his principal officers keep "straight watch...in the portes, townes and passages if happelie they, or anie of them, might be apprehended."<sup>46</sup> The exiles developed ways of conveying men overseas and back. Two of the more ingenious methods used were, firstly, the cloth export from Leeds via Hull to the Continent as a cover for transportation and secondly, Father Richard Holtby's device of passing priests going to Yorkshire through a Newcastle merchant trading to Middleburg. Holtby, of Fryton in Yorkshire and described in a report to the Privy Council (1593) as "a little man, with a reddish bearde", had much influence in the north and constructed many hiding places for priests.<sup>47</sup> Holtby's organisation bordered on the intricate and operated in such a way as to let priests move freely between mission districts. Once in Yorkshire the priests moved on to Grosmont in Cleveland, a typically isolated and unfrequented house that served as an ideal resting place between missionary journeys, where Catholics met for Mass and received the Sacrament. Huntingdon knew how to get the names of the priests in Yorkshire but he could not link them to a specific place.<sup>48</sup> More through good luck than good management, Jesuits, seminarists and their helpers were occasionally captured soon after they landed in the north. Richard Grave's system of posing as a cloth-buyer while he worked for seminarists in the West Riding was exposed in 1582.<sup>49</sup> The Bishop of Durham's report to Sir Robert Cecil in 1600, however, highlights what the government competed with. The bishop recalled that in 1589 South Shields, at the mouth of the

44. HMC, *Marquis of Salisbury*, Part VIII, p.152.

45. *APC 1577-1578*, pp.79-80; *APC 1580-1581*, pp.130, 320-21. On this theme see also *APC 1581-1582*, pp.432-33; *APC 1591*, pp.40, 191-92; *APC 1596-7*, pp.408-9; Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, pp.9, 92, 170, 199, 285, 299, 353, 377; HMC, *Marquis of Salisbury*, Part V, p.484; CSP, *Domestic*, 1591-1594, pp.377-78.

46. *APC 1586-1587*, p.297.

47. DNB, XXVII, p.209.

48. Aveling, *op. cit.* (1962-63), pp.217-19; Aveling, *op. cit.* (1964), pp.xxii-xxiii.

49. *Ibid.*, p.217.



Tyne near Newcastle “was the chief landing place for Jesuits and seminary priests, and for bringing in of Mass books and other Popish and traitorous books, and the like for passage outwards in conveying youths and others beyond the seas to the seminaries.”<sup>50</sup>

York may have been the most security-conscious town in the north but this did not deter Jesuit and seminary priests from going there. The answer as to why they risked imprisonment and probable death by going to York is found in the sorts of people who could hide and support them. The York House Book holds a list, dated 20 November 1576, of 59 recusants, no fewer than 51 being women, and nearly all poor people of the artisan or small tradesperson class.<sup>51</sup> Both the Privy Council and the Earl of Huntingdon, York’s “loving friend, despatched directives to York in 1578, worried that it was fast emerging as a centre of priestly subversion and attempts by the ‘agents of Rome’ to reconcile local Catholics to the pope.<sup>52</sup> Only the year before, the captured priest Thomas Wright (if Robert Persons’ account is to be believed) incited the people of York “to be moved and to flock to our priest” as he was led through the city streets.<sup>53</sup> Walsingham received intelligence from the Earl of Shrewsbury about seminary priests he had apprehended in the region. On 26 April 1579 Shrewsbury sent a letter to Walsingham in London about a seminary priest he had just apprehended, “a very obstinate and froward fellow.”<sup>54</sup> Later he informed Walsingham again on the activities of a suspected seminary priest, Lancelot Blackburne. The seriousness of the situation was again brought to Walsingham (1582) with the news that “one Tankard” of Boroughbridge in Yorkshire was “a liberal giver to the Seminary at Rheims and elsewhere”, and had many masses said in his house by five priests.<sup>55</sup> Blackburne’s examination inspired a conciliar order to suppress “the daile corruption growen by scolemasters, bothe publique and private, in teaching and instructing of youthe.”<sup>56</sup> But a real problem for the Privy Council occurred in January 1580 when it was shocked to learn that the mayor of York, Robert Cripling, was very lax in punishing popish recusants. Cripling’s condemnation of York Minster’s chancellor following a sermon and restoration of the freedom of a Scotsman who had made seditious speeches, angered the Privy Council.<sup>57</sup>

Cripling’s impertinence gave credence to the rumours that Catholicism lingered in York’s aldermanic circles and that one or two mayors had protected recusants. It had a three-fold effect. It forced the Earl of Huntingdon to persuade the reluctant corporation to assume greater responsibility for civic religion, namely to appoint a town preacher.<sup>58</sup> It intensified the Privy Council’s subjugation of seminarists and

50. HMC, *Marquis of Salisbury* Part X, pp.202-3.

51. YCR, VII, pp.130-37; VCH York, IV, p.153; McCann, *op. cit.*, pp.24-25, 55, 67, 115, 118, 130, 165, 167, 195; Chapman, 'The Persecution under Elizabeth', p.42; J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984), p.156.

52. YCR, VII, pp.174, 177-79.

53. J.H. Pollen, 'The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons', *Miscellanea*, II. CRS, II (London, repr. 1969), p.76.

54. HMC, *Marquis of Salisbury*, Part II, p.253.

55. Sir Thomas Lawson-Tancred, *Records of a Yorkshire Manor* (London, 1937), p.175.

56. CSP, *Domestic*, 1581-1590, p.411; APC 1580-1581, p.59.

57. VCH York, IV; YCR, VIII, pp.28-30.

58. Claire Cross, 'Parochial Structure and the Dissemination of Protestantism in Sixteenth Century England: A Tale of Two Cities', in *The Church in Town and Countryside. Papers Read at the Seventeenth Summer Meeting and the Eighteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Derek Baker [Studies in Church History, 16] (Oxford, 1979), p.277.

Jesuits in the North and caused it to scrutinise the efficiency of local justices in suppressing them. Following the arrest and imprisonment of Cripling by Huntingdon, the Privy Council realised what his laxness had provoked in York. In 1580 the common clerk prepared indictments at the assizes against recusants and orders to arrest seminarists appeared in the House Books.<sup>59</sup> A "Masse in the house of Doctor Vavisor" occurred in July 1580 and the earl and the Archbishop of York had to "take paines in the bolting out further what Recusantes and massinges have ben of late yeres within the said cittie."<sup>60</sup> As head of the High Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes, the Archbishop of York complemented Huntingdon's job by ordering the church hierarchy to put an end to priests baptising children "in a Popish manner" or having "children not lawfully baptized."<sup>61</sup> York's first executions of priests began in August 1582. Their trials were always conducted at the assizes so as to promote the belief that they were being punished not for their religion but for their *political* activities (precisely that of withdrawing the people's allegiance from the Crown).

When William Hart and Richard Thirkfield were martyred in York in 1583 on 15 March and 29 May respectively, a contemporary described the city as still "inclined...to the Catholic faith" and "the common multitude sometimes go into the churches of the heretics through fear of the unjust laws."<sup>62</sup> The description was to an extent propaganda but in 1583-84 the ease with which priests infiltrated York was frightening, and more than a little embarrassing to the authorities. The Privy Council was understandably angry that seminary priests entered York "ever disguised and in a most secreet manner" and were "in sondry placs well entertaned and harbored", encouraging "the inferior sort to continewe in ther blindnes and disobedience."<sup>63</sup> A little later:

the sheriffs of this city taking occasion to view their prisoners in the Kidcotes upon Ousebridge they found amongst those that are committed for not coming to church certain Mass books, pictures, holy water with stencles beads, pairs of vestments, wax candles, and girdle, and a great canvas bag belonging to some man having in it some unlawful books...it is supposed that some Seminary priest did resort and frequent the company of the said prisoners in the said gaols and there did say Mass.<sup>64</sup>

The tabling of the 1585 Act was followed by its almost immediate application in York. Expulsions and fines were replaced by more violent means of coercion. Marmaduke Bowes was executed on 26 November 1585 and Margaret Clitherow met the same fate on 25 March 1586.<sup>65</sup> Along with these sufferers, Edward and Anne Tesshe and Alice Awdorne went to prison. All of them must have been guided by

---

59. *VCH York*, IV, p.154.

60. *APC 1580-1581*, pp.107-8.

61. Eric Josef Carlson, 'Marriage Reform and the Elizabethan High Commission', *Sixteenth Century Journal* XXI, 3 (1990), esp. pp.448-50.

62. J.H. Pollen, 'Father Person's Memoirs (Concluded)', No. VT, *Miscellanea*, IV. CRS, IV (London, repr. 1969), pp.77-79, 87.

63. *YCR*, VIII, pp.64-66.

64. *Ibid.*, p.72; Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe, 'The Imprisonment of Catholics for Religion under Elizabeth I', *RH*, 20, 4 (October, 1991), p.426.

65. Patrick McGrath and Joyce Rowe, 'The Elizabethan Priests: Their Harbourers and Helpers', *RH*, 19, 3 (May, 1989), p.217. Margaret Clitherow's is a notable case. She was the daughter of Thomas Middleton, sheriff of York and had been brought up in the Anglican faith. Since Margaret Clitherow



seminary priests, since they gave clear and precise answers when questioned about their recusancy: either because of conscience or there being “neither altar nor sacrifice.”<sup>66</sup> The trial of John Minet in the city in March 1589 was notable not just because the accused faced charges of being “one Athiest” and “hethen”, brawling in church, disturbing the Divine Service, “slanderer, backbiter and sower of dissension, charmer, sorcerer enchanter, conjurer”; he had also delivered a Catholic sermon on the Feast of John the Baptist.<sup>67</sup> During the second half of the 1580s York became the place to execute Marian and seminary priests, whether they were caught in the city, county or far outside it. The martyrdoms included: George Douglas, a Marian priest, who, “apparelled in course canvas doublit and hose”, was active in the Midlands; Alexander Crow, a shoemaker of Howden, East Riding; the York-based Francis Ingleby of Ripley, West Riding and described as “a short man but well made, and seemed a man of 35 years of age or thereabouts”; Edward Burden, born in Cleveland, North Riding; and Edmund Sykes of Leeds, West Riding.<sup>68</sup>

It is necessary only to note these few because by this time the Privy Council’s operations against subversive, vagrant priests branched out to include investigations of common people in York and the county as a matter of course. Taking into account the temper of religion in this part of the kingdom, they were naturally suspected of complicity with the enemy. Thomas Belson went to the scaffold in York Castle, accused and convicted of “conveying intelligence between Bridges the priest and others beyond the seas and soem of this realme by unknowen means.”<sup>69</sup> More incidents sufficiently illustrate this. On 3 December 1584, William Hopwood, who had been a soldier for six years in Ireland, was examined at York in regard to his travels from Liverpool to Carlisle and to Scotland (with his lieutenant’s written permission). He swore that he had never carried letters into or from Scotland, knew nothing of the conveyance of letters to Mary, Queen of Scots and all he had to live on was his pay as a soldier at Berwick.<sup>70</sup> In another case John Barcroft, c. December 1591, protested to Sir Robert Cecil that although he knew his brother became a priest, he did not know when. He could however, identify a Doncaster carrier by the name of James Turner, who in turn had talked to a “Little William” (born in Yorkshire) at an inn.<sup>71</sup> Another case demonstrating the Privy Council’s ability to investigate the activities of Jesuits and seminarists by concentrating on local commoners in York and the county, was that of Thomas Emmerson. The Earl of Huntingdon personally questioned this man on 23 November 1593 about his employment history and travels. Emmerson claimed that he had never been to the Low Countries, had begun an apprenticeship to John Edwards in London and completed it in 1590. He had then set up a tavern

---

refused to plead her case – never really came to trial and she died under the sanction of refusal. Regarding her tragic story, see Claire Cross, ‘An Elizabethan Martyrologist and His Martyr: John Mush and Margaret Clitherow’, in *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* [Studies in Church History, 30], ed. Diana Wood (Oxford, 1993), pp.271-81. See also Katherine Longley, *Saint Margaret Clitherow* (Wheathampstead, 1986).

66. *VCH York*, IV, p.153.

67. Veronica M. O’Mara, ‘A Middle English Sermon Preached By a Sixteenth-Century ‘Atheist’: A Preliminary Account’, *Notes and Queries*, 34, 2 (June, 1987), pp.183-85.

68. J.H. Pollen (ed.), *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs...1584-1603*. CRS, V (London, 1908), pp.88-89, 114; Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, pp.57-58, 95, 181-82, 344; Dickens, ‘The First Stages of Romanist Recusancy...’, p.173, n.8; Aveling, *op. cit.*, p.219.

69. McGrath and Rowe, *op. cit.* (1991), p.420.

70. *CSP, Domestic, Addenda, 1580-1625*, pp.130-31.

71. *CSP, Domestic, 1591-1594*, pp.148-49.



and decided to earn his keep as a soldier at Berwick, obtaining the livery of Lord Sadler at eight pence a day.<sup>72</sup> Investigations of servants and merchants in the latter half of the 1590s and early 1600s are proof that the Privy Council, or Sir Robert Cecil at least, did not take reports of the region being orderly at face value.<sup>73</sup>

The incident of a man using various aliases but normally referred to as "Jas. Young" brings to notice another dimension of harbourers that the Privy Council was at a loss to control. Young was examined in August 1592 and he claimed that he knew a priest called Mush and another called Bell. They "went into Yorkshire to remain about York" and what is notable about it is that whereas the gentlemen of the region had taken to abandoning their priestly allies, gentlewomen continued to support them.<sup>74</sup> Previously, the Privy Council knew that Catholic women in York or outside it were more stubborn in their faith than their husbands. Archbishop Grindal informed William Cecil in 1580 that he would send to him for examination three priests who had been found after a search of the house belonging to the Countess of Northumberland.<sup>75</sup> The wife of a Newcastle merchant, Elizabeth Hedley, was committed to prison "with divers other woemen...in the gayle of Sadburie and York."<sup>76</sup> The Privy Council blamed the social standing of female recusants of the richer sort for the encouragement of "the weaker sort" in finding the nerve to flinch from "the propagation of the Gospel"<sup>77</sup> Yorkshire women fulfilled a double role. They promoted the efforts of Jesuits and seminary priests to 'invade' the county and hide out as vagrants, and through their actions encouraged their tenants, servants, etc., to receive them or accompany them on their work. On several occasions the Privy Council made aware its detestation of Catholic women, "those wilfull and obstynate persons in those partes...that will not by anie meanes be brought to conforme themselves to her Majesty's lawes", in letters to the Earl of Huntingdon and the Archbishop of York.<sup>78</sup>

In early March 1592 the justices of the peace for the North, West and East Ridings received commissions on account of the continuing number of seminary priests in Yorkshire. Then on 25 April the Privy Council required the Earl of Huntingdon and the Archbishop of York to provide lists of the names, behaviours and qualities of all recusants; "howe you finde them in opinion to be obstinate or otherwise dangerous, or to be suspected for their alledguance" to Elizabeth I and the state.<sup>79</sup> Harboursing Jesuits and seminarists, which had not reached the magnitude of the late 1590s, forced the Privy Council to take this course of action. At this stage it appears that the energies of the Earl of Huntingdon and his security 'network' were the best means by which subversion could be thwarted and stubborn individuals' faith truly shaken.<sup>80</sup>

---

72. *Ibid.*, pp.387-88.

73. HMC, *of Salisbury*, Part V, pp.445-47; Part IX, p.320; Part X, pp.185, 280-81.

74. *CSP, Domestic, 1591-1594*, pp.261-62.

75. *CSP, Domestic, 1547-1580*, p.396.

76. *APC 1591*, pp.152-53.

77. *APC 1592*, pp.110-11.

78. *APC 1592-3*, pp.122-23; 317-18, 421-22. Marie B. Rowlands examines this problem more fully in 'Recusant women 1560-1640', in Mary Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society 1500-1800* (London, 1985), pp.149-80.

79. HMC, *Marquis of Salisbury*, Part IV, p.258; HMC, *Fifth Report*, Part I, p.267; *CSP, Domestic, 1591-1594*, p.19; *APC 1591-2*, p.406.

80. *APC 1592*, pp.27-28.



The Jesuit Richard Holtby himself went so far as to pay the earl a back-handed compliment:

of bloody and cruel mind against Catholic men and their religion; and one, as he is thought, of no deep reach in matters of weight and judgement, yet through continual practice in persecuting us these twenty-two years he has borne the office of President, is grown so ingenious to work us trouble and disquietness, that herein he need not give place unto any, though they be of greater wit and capacity..."<sup>81</sup>

Another writer, anonymous but just as hostile, alleged that Huntingdon condoned the secret murder of Catholics while they languished in prison. It is alleged he said to one keeper, "It were more worthy to hang thee than this Papist, for if thou hadst been an honest man or a true subject, all the Papists in thy custody had been despatched ere this day."<sup>82</sup>

The job of hunting down priests could not be contained in the vicinity of York and the county. The orders of 1592 saw the Earl of Huntingdon conducting operations against seminarists by concentrating on the wealthier harbourers, which by the end of the year spread to Lancashire. In his opinion there was little difference between seminary priests and their protectors: "Caterpillars, and sedicious seducers of hir Maiesties subiects in these partes, by whom most of the seminaries here scattered be directed, and on whom our principle Recusants doe chieflie depend."<sup>83</sup> In January 1593 the scope of his mission was shown in a list he gave to Burghley of the "Jesuits, seminaries and old priests, in the South parts, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Richmondshire, the Bishopric, and Northumberland", and notes of the places in London where they said Mass.<sup>84</sup>

At this juncture lowly-born men such as Thomas Trollop, "a base-begotten, desperate, and dangerous fellow", who had assisted the priest Bernard Patterson with his massing vestments and books, etc., on the way to York, continued to provoke the Privy Council, the Earl of Huntingdon and others.<sup>85</sup> However, the records now emphasised the vagrant, beggarly and itinerant nature of seminarists' and Jesuits' existence. The searches of 1-2 February 1593 resulted in the arrest of Anthony Page, a seminary, in York "in a conveyance made in the bottom of a haystack....The entrance thereof not being well stopped, one of the searchers climbing up upon the hay fell into the place where Mr. Anthony was, and so was he taken."<sup>86</sup> The statement of 24 October 1593 by Anthony Atkinson intended for Sir Robert Cecil is equally worth citing:

And when any Searcher is maid in Yorkshire, Bushopprick, Northumberland, Comberland, Westmerland and Lancasher ffor any papist preest, then eyther thay ar conveyed into Caves in ye grownd or secrett places not possible to ffeind theme. And, further some ffleethe into Darbieshier into ye Hie Peeke...where

81. Patrick Nuttgens, *York: The Continuing City* (London, 1976), p.62.

82. Chapman, 'The Persecution under Elizabeth', p.27.

83. *APC 1592*, pp.365-66, 482; Pollen, *Martyrs*, pp.212-13.

84. *CSP, Domestic, Addenda, 1580-1625*, p.345.

85. *Ibid.*, pp.355-56.

86. Michael Hodgetts, 'Elizabethan Priest-Holes: V- The North', *RH*, 13, 4 (October, 1976), p.257.

ye papists have harbors in ye Stony Rockes, and they ar releevd by shippards, so yt..is a Sanctuary ffor all wycked men, and is more used of late than ever was in respect of yt Justice of Peace..<sup>87</sup>

Atkinson's statement can be read in two ways. It either makes Elizabethan conciliar and statutory policy look ineffective because Jesuits and seminarists preferred to live roughly, or the vigour with which priests and their helpers were attacked by Hastings and those acting in his name, forced them to this way of life. Certainly, the violence of the period 1593-95, when the executions of priests and their helpers in York or their incarceration in London's Bridewell for interrogation under torture reached their peak, tested their moral fortitude and took their toll. William Harrington, James Atkinson and Bryan Lacey suffered in Bridewell, Lacey being "pitifully tortured" there.<sup>88</sup> Others broke down under pressure and provided information to the Privy Council leading to the arrest and execution of their compatriots. The preacher Thomas Bell renounced Catholicism and even Thomas Clark, who cut an impressive and threatening figure in 1593 (wearing a "a great sword, and is a big man with a short black beard") capitulated to the authorities.<sup>89</sup> William Hardesty, Jesuit, became a spy on receiving a pardon in April 1593 and his information led to the execution at York of John Ingram in 1594.<sup>90</sup> The Earl of Huntingdon's spies, in some instances, cut short the success of missionary activities. They supplied their employer with names, places where they hid and were most likely to visit, and this contributed to the apprehension of the Jesuit Henry Walpole, who survived only as "a vagrant in those parts."<sup>91</sup>

It is wrong, therefore, to dismiss the Privy Council's policy as entirely ineffective but it depended on magistrates' zeal and their deputies' efficiency in particular to make the effort truly successful. The Privy Council urgently requested the Council of the North in August 1596 to get York's magistrates to arrest and examine a resident, "one Grene, a tall blacke man...that ys a great harborer and receaver of Jehesuites and Semeniarie Preestes."<sup>92</sup> Armed with this information the searchers wasted precious time by inspecting the houses of all the Greens they could trace, only to find each and every one of them conforming to the laws of the realm.<sup>93</sup> Huntingdon's death, as mentioned earlier, was a great blow to the Privy Council and led to some deterioration in preventative security. By mid-1596 Yorkshire towns were "exceedingly poisoned with Popish recusants" and the local Catholics were "apt enough to pass and convey such dangerous priests and Jesuits."<sup>94</sup>

87. Pollen, *Martyrs*, pp.221-22.

88. *Ibid.*, pp.287, 292; Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, pp.149-50.

89. Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, pp.76-77; Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl: The Life of Henry Hastings Third Earl of Huntingdon 1536-1595* (London, 1966), p.245.

90. Pollen, *Martyrs*, p.288; Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, p.148.

91. Cross, *op. cit.* (1966), pp.239-41; Henry More, *The Elizabethan Jesuits: Historia Missonis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu* (1660), ed. and trans. Francis Edwards (London and Chichester, 1981), pp.261-62; Pollen, *Martyrs*, p.249.

92. *APC 1596-7*, pp.77-78.

93. D.M. Palliser, 'Civic Mentality and the Environment in Tudor York', in Jonathan Barry (ed.), *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History* (London, 1990), p.229.

94. HMC, *Marquis of Salisbury*, Part VI, pp.54, 62-64. The long-serving clerk of the Privy Council, William Waad, had occasion to receive a letter from John Jackson, preacher of Melsonby church near Richmond, that since the earl's death, "the Papists have increased in number and malice". *CSP Domestic, 1595-1597*, p.418.



The fact was that urban people now tended to conform more with Privy Council policy than the rural parishes, which were much harder to control. This is backed up by evidence from Yorkshire's rural deaneries in 1595-96:

Martyn Ridston gent a notorious popish recusante a vagrante fugitive person of no knowne lyvinge or welth...

Jane Baker of Bubywthe wydowe a poor woman, a popish recusante harboured relieved by..John Barker and Elmott Staveley...nothing worth in goods, a popish recusante...

Jane Dyneley of Ingelbie a woman of no lyvinge but harboured and releived onely by William Dyneley of Ingelbie her sonne, a popish recusante....

Jannett Hoode a single woman, a beggar residing in their parish and hathe been indited by order of the lawe.

Katherine Wimpe, a single old woman gnoe living is a recusante

John Grene gent having no living nor goods...save one horse with he rideth upon, is a recusante

Alice Crathorne worth iiiLi in goode a vagrante pson and wandereth here and there...

John Hudson a beggar and Agnes Robinson of Skinningrane servant a popish recusant and hath noe stay of living....

William Marshall of Glacedale a vagrant person but what he is worth is not knowne he is a recusant and somtimes frequenteth the towne of Lyverton...

Robert Gargrave Tailor is a vagrant recusant sometimes cometh into their chappelry & wandereth here and there

Agnes widoe a beggar...and her sonne whose name the churchwardens know not dwelling with her ar likewise Recusants....

John Walker, yeoma' vagrant supposed to have *Cli* at usurie

Christopher Burdon yeoman, & his wife vagrants worth in goode xxli....

John Parkinson ali Fawkener someime of Knayton though to be a conveyor of Semnaries from place to place a Will full slanderer of the gspell....

Nicholas Johnson gent sometymes dwelling at Northfield house, a vagrant recusant and is possessed of Lease worth xiiij*li* vjs viij*d* & of goods worth xxvj*li* xiijs jiiij*d*.<sup>95</sup>

---

95. Clare Talbot (ed.), *Miscellanea: Recusant Records*. CRS, LIII (London, 1961), pp.21-28, 30-31, 33, 44-45, 53.

The most striking thing about this list is that it includes people who were not necessarily poor or utterly destitute. They fell under the swoop of vagrancy laws because (as beggars and drifters were prone to do) they moved from place to place but they actively promoted Catholicism or protected priests as well.

The vagrant character of Yorkshire recusants in 1595-96 and their capacity to harbour Jesuit and seminary priests are further confirmed by the findings of the conciliar directive that went to Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, on 26 November 1595. The Privy Council ordered Hutton to inquire into the number, social standing and livelihoods of recusants, and in particular to investigate how many stayed in their localities or had become fugitives. Of the 2,040 recusants (868 men and 1,172 women) mentioned in the reports which were returned to Sir Robert Cecil on 25 February 1596, it emerged that 2 players of interludes, 4 pedlars, 3 pipers, 96 labourers and 1 sailor had been on the move, getting casual employment to avoid the inquiries of justices of the peace and churchwardens. In all, the term vagrant was used 108 times and was applied to those who were not householders or of no fixed abode. Among those who were indicted for harbouring seminary priests was an escapee from the prison at York, Thomas Warcoppe of Burneston in the West Riding.<sup>96</sup>

The findings validate Beier's point that the law as much as economic circumstances went a long way to stigmatising people as vagrants. Local Catholics could be indicted as vagrants because they took up the cause of the runagate priests, and in their adventures were impossible to differentiate from 'regular' drifters frequenting taverns and alehouses. This happened to Miles Dawson in July 1596 when he confessed before the Archbishop of York and the Council of the North. Dawson was a school teacher in York for two years but convinced himself of the righteousness of the Catholic religion. Accompanied by two men, Dawson travelled "by common inns" and made contacts in London, Cambridge and Oxford.<sup>97</sup> The rest of the 1590s was not particularly outstanding in the way of new developments at York. The pattern of the past remained the same: priests landed on the coast; they continued to be discovered in the houses of people living within or near the city gates; receivers and harbourers of seminary and Jesuit priests were punished at the York assizes and either languished in the dungeons of York Castle or were swiftly executed. The investigations of Anthony Atkinson in Lincolnshire in July 1597 showed that Jesuits and seminary priests who were protected in that county still had easy access to Yorkshire and Derbyshire.<sup>98</sup>

Herein is summed up the basic problems that the Privy Council had in ridding Yorkshire of vagabond priests and of bringing native confederates to heel, despite having at its disposal the powers of the municipality of York, the Council of the North and the High Commission. The capture of a large proportion of seminarists, Jesuits and the few remaining Marian priests failed to prevent the growth of a Catholic 'hard core' among certain Yorkshire gentry families. It also has to be remembered that Tudor government was government by the gentry and if some members of it

96. The above is based on the findings in E.E. Reynolds, 'Recusants in the Province of York (1596)', *The Month*, New Ser., 27, 4 (April, 1962), pp.227-37.

97. HMC, *Marquis of Salisbury*, Part VI, p.283

98. *Ibid.*, Part VII, pp.105, 230; HMC, *Marquis of Salisbury*, Part IX, p.194; CSP, *Domestic*, 1595-1597, p.369; McGrath and Rowe, *op. cit.* (1989), pp.225-26; Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, p.324; Arthur Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State...*, II (London, 1746), p.12.



were not entirely sympathetic to government policies, then those policies were compromised. This opened the way for officials, even under the vigilant eye of a Huntingdon, to be inefficient if not corrupt and likely to promise recusants their release from prison on payment of a bribe. The nature of the administrative apparatus, finally, helped recusants who shielded massing priests to escape the wrath of the law. Largely because it was run by professional lawyers and so was slow and complex, good attorneys working on behalf of recusant gentry resorted to delaying tactics before the courts and encouraged their clients to constantly move abodes. Aveling cites individuals from county and municipal families that got away with this. William Middleton of Stockeld was a wealthy and important recusant but he was labelled a vagrant because he constantly moved round his houses in the West and North Ridings in the 1590s.<sup>99</sup>

By the first years of the seventeenth century the successes of Jesuits and seminarists were being countered, though slowly and not completely.<sup>100</sup> The inspiration they had undoubtedly given in encouraging recusants not to attend church was put to one final test resulting in a large number of captures, indictments and executions of priests, and conversions.<sup>101</sup> The Bishop of London confidently asserted in his report to the Privy Council that fomenters of sedition experienced “a great distaste to our strict government here, and makes papists think that we proceed more strictly with them than is done elsewhere.”<sup>102</sup> Thomas Lord Burghley, securing the appointment of Lord President of the North in August 1599, enjoyed only a short time in the office but in what amounted to the last real Elizabethan purge of priests and their supporters, he echoed Huntingdon’s campaigns by harrying recusants, capturing some priests and punishing corrupt officials.<sup>103</sup> He commented in March 1600 that 18 out of every 20 recusants now proceeded to go to church: “In the worst parts of this shire I hear five hundred have come in this three weeks, so that a notable papist complained that the common people are declining from them.”<sup>104</sup> The statement of Thomas Thursby, a seminary priest who was arrested on 14 June is also noteworthy. Not only did he admit to being a Catholic, he was forced “to fly out of his country [county] to avoid persecution, because they take stricter courses in the north country at this time than has been heretofore accustomed.”<sup>105</sup> A year later he was forced to rectify this belief somewhat when he added that in spite of certificates indicating greater religious conformity, he could not vouch “for the remoter parts.”<sup>106</sup> The younger Lord Burghley was no more successful than the earl. This failure to completely eradicate the priests’ wanderings in Yorkshire is not surprising. Even the

99. Aveling, *op. cit.*, p.215.

100. Witness the events at Grosmont Abbey near Whitby during the spring and summer of 1599. Lord Sheffield's raid on the place uncovered popish books and materials for celebrating Mass, and made Groman Abbey the "chief receptacle of the most dangerous recusants, priests, and fugitives in those parts." See *CSP, Domestic, 1598-1601*, pp.188, 200-1,210-11, 232-33.

101. HMC, *Marquis of Salisbury*, Part IX, p.31; *CSP, Domestic, 1598-1601*, pp.321-22, 379; Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, pp.42-43, 246, 356-57; *APC 1598-9*, p.709; *APC 1599-1600*, p.601. On the apostasy of priests for this period see Michael C. Questier, 'English Clerical Converts to Protestantism, 1580-1596', *RH* 20, 4 (October, 1991), pp.455-77.

102. *CSP, Domestic, 1601-1603; With Addenda, 1547-1565*, p.211.

103. Aveling, *op. cit.*, p.216; G. B. Harrison, *The Elizabethan Journals 1591-1603*, III (London, 1938) p.39.

104. HMC, *Marquis of Salisbury*, Part X, p.48.

105. Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, p.356.

106. HMC, *Marquis of Salisbury*, Part XI, p.236.



justices of the peace for the county, less than a year before Elizabeth's death, admitted that it was ultimately an impossible task. The Jesuit Wright may have been recently apprehended in July 1602 and Robert Nutter and Edward Thwinge executed at York, but experience told the justices "that the people here (with whose affections we are acquainted, being for the greater part inclined to popery) will...confirm themselves in that religion."<sup>107</sup>

Elizabeth I's advisers had an enormously difficult situation to handle at York. The Privy Council worked with a number of authorities in order to suppress vagrancy there. Apart from the municipal administration the Privy Council communicated with the Council of the North and its Lord Presidents, and the ecclesiastical administration under the Archbishop of York. In common with other towns, vagrancy in York took on many subtle and unsubtle forms, requiring responses of varying effectiveness according to the circumstances at any given moment. It should not be forgotten that as well as itinerant priests, York and the county endured vagabonds 'thrown up' by the Dissolution, a changing regional economy, migrations, enclosures, and long-lasting effects of the disastrous conditions of the 1550s and early 1560s. All these factors profoundly affected the ability of people to find and sustain their livelihoods.

Nevertheless the fact remains that subversive priests remained a distinctive aspect of Elizabethan and early Stuart England's problem. The costs and risks of smuggling priests, books, letters, Mass furniture and information remained high, and caused those seminary and Jesuit priests who ventured in or near towns in Yorkshire (or anywhere else in England, for that matter) to rely on their own judgement and initiative. They did not travel in gangs like other vagrants, for example, deserters from the army and no matter how well organised safehouses were, a lone priest soon lost contact with Rheims or Douai. Government informers had little difficulty in obtaining information on members of the colleges abroad or posting notices at the ports for officials to be on the alert for them. They even pin-pointed some deserted stretches of beach most likely to be used as landing places.

The uprising of 1569 forced the Privy Council to intervene more thoroughly in York's affairs more than ever before; the city had such an important place in Elizabeth I's strategic considerations. Again, it must be emphasised that vagrants and masterless people came in all shapes and forms. The harshest and at times cruellest treatment was reserved expressly for vagabonds who were seen as a menace to public order. Seminary and Jesuit priests were the most feared of this type and the most cruelly punished when and if they were caught. Like the unrest in Norfolk and related events at Norwich in 1569-70 which terrified the propertied classes and triggered conciliar-inspired searches for vagrants, the Northern Rebellion was the turning point as far as conciliar interference at York is concerned. In religious terms York was conservative, even reactionary, but thanks to the presence of the Earl of Huntingdon and Puritan-minded archbishops, its leaders were conscious of doing more to enforce the Elizabethan laws concerning prayer and worship, and to find and bring to book the massing priests and their harbourers. In the last resort, however, the Privy Council relied too often on local administration by consent, when some parochial officials - but not all - could effectively cajole others into providing and acting on information regarding the 'runagate priests'.

---

107. *Ibid.*, Part XII, p.232; Harrison, *Elizabethan Journals*, III, pp.110-11.



**Footnote Abbreviations**

Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*

Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales 1558-1850*, I.

APC

*Acts of the Privy Council*

CRS

Catholic Record Society

CSP

*Calendar of State Papers*

DNB

*Dictionary of National Biography*

HMC

Historical Manuscripts Commission

*Marquis of Salisbury*

*Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury.... Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*

RH

Recusant History

VCH

Victoria County History

YCR

York Civic Records

## THOMAS BROWNE, WILLIAM WRIGHT AND THE SLINGSBY MONUMENTS AT KNARESBOROUGH

by Adam White

The Slingsby family of Scriven Park, Knaresborough and the Red House, Moor Monkton is handsomely commemorated by a group of monuments in the parish church of St. John the Baptist, Knaresborough. They are placed in a chapel on the north side of the building which was appropriated by the family to house them, having served in the Middle Ages as a chantry dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, and later as a Lady Chapel.<sup>1</sup> The series of memorials erected there in the early seventeenth century is among the most interesting of its date in Yorkshire and, indeed, in England on account of the range of style and iconography displayed in it and the exceptional amount of relevant contemporary documentation which survives. Most of this material is in the Society's archives and a small proportion of it was published in the pages of this journal by W.A. Atkinson in 1947,<sup>2</sup> a little more information being added by Geoffrey Ridsdill Smith in his biography of Sir Henry Slingsby the Younger, the famous Royalist, which appeared in 1968.<sup>3</sup> It is the purpose of this article to enlarge substantially on what they wrote.

The sequence of monuments begins with that of Francis Slingsby (d.1600) and Mary his wife who are shown lying on a tomb chest in the middle of the chapel (p1.1). The memorial is a classic statement of family pride: traditional in form, large and prominently placed. Rising damp has dealt harshly with it and some of the inscriptions have crumbled away but the full text has fortunately been recorded.<sup>4</sup> This reveals that the work was commissioned by Sir Henry Slingsby, the eldest son of the deceased, in 1601. In his will dated 7 January 1601/2 he gave instructions that his "fathers Tombe alreadie begunne may be in very decent & good sort pformed att the charge of the executors of this my last will by the advise and direction of my brother William Slingsbie to whose care I whollie committ that matter".<sup>5</sup> In the event these directions were superfluous since Henry, who by that time had been knighted, was able to see the project through to completion on 24 June 1602, an achievement proudly recorded on an inscription which survives, running round the top of the tomb chest.

---

Unless otherwise stated, all manuscript material cited below is among the Slingsby papers in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society's archives (DD 56), here abbreviated as Slingsby Papers

1. A. Kellett, *The Queen's Church. The Story of Knaresborough Parish Church* (1978), p.16.
2. W. A. Atkinson, "William Slingsby and the Slingsby Monuments in Knaresborough Church", *YAJ*, vol.36 (1947), pp.366-73, see particularly pp.371-3.
3. G. Ridsdill Smith, *Without Touch of Dishonour* (1968), p.36.
4. M. Calvert, *The History of Knaresborough* (1844), pp.56-7 ; see also W. Grainge, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Castle, Town and Borough of Knaresborough* [1865], pp.65-6.
5. Slingsby Papers, 0 7 ; quoted W. A. Atkinson, *op.cit.* ( at note 2, above), p.372. The will was later superseded by a new document.





Plate 1. Monument to Francis Slingsby and Mary his wife, 1601-2, St. John, Knaresborough.  
Plates 1-3, 5, 7-11 copyright Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

Francis and Mary's monument is the work of Thomas Browne, whose monogram appears prominently on the plinth at the west end (pl. 2). Nothing is otherwise known for certain about this sculptor apart from the fact that his signature also appears on the colossal memorial to Sir William Belasyse (d. 1604) and his wife at Coxwold, North Yorkshire.<sup>6</sup> Both works are crudely executed with curiously attenuated effigies (pl. 3) and an abundance of ornament in the north European Mannerist idiom which was fashionable at the time. At Coxwold Browne's signature formed part of a rhyme, legible until quite recently, which also told us that his material was the magnesian limestone which for centuries had been quarried on the Vavasour estate at Hazlewood, near Tadcaster.<sup>7</sup> Hazlewood stone was also used for the Slingsby monument, together with more limestone which came from Walton, near Wetherby: in 1601 Sir Henry paid 11s 9d for "stones... for my fathers Tombe" to be transported from these sources.<sup>8</sup> Payments to Browne are widely scattered in the accounts: those

6. For Browne see K. A. Esdaile, "Sculpture and Sculptors in Yorkshire" *YAJ*, vol. 35 (1943), pp. 367, 377, 383-4. The date given by the author for the death of Sir William Belasyse, 1603, is incorrect.

7. "Thomas Browne did carve this tombe / Himself alone of Hesselwood stone" (P. E. Sheppard Routh, *Coxwold and the Belasyse Monuments* (1981), p. 4). The inscription is painted on a stone surface which has been badly affected by rising damp and only a few words can still be deciphered. The lettering is probably not original but must follow an earlier text. For Hazlewood stone, see Routh. *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

8. Slingsby Papers, J 1/2, ff. 43v-44.





Plate 2. Slingsby monument. Detail showing Thomas Browne's monogram.

so far discovered were made in the period 1601-3 and amount to £20.<sup>9</sup> Even if we assume that the sculptor did not have to bear any of the ancillary costs of his undertaking - materials, painting, transport and installation - this was extremely cheap. The best available comparison is with the work of the Midlands alabasterers Richard and Gabriel Royley which is of similar crudity and also of provincial origin but even they were able to obtain £22 for a smaller memorial to John Shirley at Bredon on the Hill, Leicestershire in 1585<sup>10</sup> when the currency was worth more than in Browne's day.<sup>11</sup> The explanation may be that Browne was, understandably, not well regarded and could therefore only command the lowest prices but it is also possible that further payments were made to him of which records have been destroyed or remain to be unearthed. During the year ending 20 May 1602 a further 10s 1d was spent on 'dyv[er]se things about the Tombe',<sup>12</sup> but it is not clear who received

9. Slingsby Papers, J 1/2, ff.47-8 (1601-2) ; J 3/1, unfol. (January and December 1601) ; J 3/2, unfol. (1602-3). The first of these references is quoted by W. A. Atkinson (*op.cit.* at note 2, above, p.372). In J 3/1 Browne is referred to merely as "the Tombe maker" and not by name.

10. The contract for this monument is in the Leicestershire Record Office (Ferrers Ms., 26D 53/2571 ; abstract published [E. P. Shirley], *Stemmata Shirleiana* (1841), pp.60-66). I am grateful to Dr Nigel Llewellyn for drawing my attention to the original document.

11. R. B. Outhwaite, *Inflation in Tudor and early Stuart England*, 2nd ed. (1982), p.12, table 1.

12. Slingsby Papers, J3/2, unfol.





Plate 3. Slingsby monument. Detail of the effigies.



the money. At about the same time Sir Henry laid out £5 8s 9d “In paving stones about the quire [i.e. the chapel] wheare my fathers Tombe is & f[o]r other necessities about the said quire”.<sup>13</sup> New paving stones would have been needed for the plinth which supports the monument and possibly also to make good the disruption to the floor caused by the installation of the tomb chest.

Sir Henry continued to look after his “quire” and its contents. In 1628 he paid seventeen shillings for repairs to the chapel and a further three shillings “to the painter of Knar[esborough]... for ye keeping cleane my fathers tombe & chappell wherein it standes for 3 yeares endinge at Easter nowe p[rese]ntlie cominge”.<sup>14</sup> By this time the inscription had already begun to decay and Sir Henry was obliged to give the painter two shillings more “for mendinge the l[et]tres”.<sup>15</sup> By 1631 the work of superficial maintenance seems to have been transferred to the parish clerk who in that year received 5s 2d from Sir Henry of which 3s 2d was for “dressinge my To[m]bes & litle quier”.<sup>16</sup>

At this point Sir Henry had three years to live. He lived on a fairly grand scale: a volume of his stewards’ accounts covering the years 1628-34<sup>17</sup> shows that during that period he was spending money on building work and interior decoration, plate, textiles and armour. Some of his purchases were made in London where there were also sculptors capable of far more sophisticated and accomplished work than Browne is known to have done. Sensing, perhaps that his end was not far off, Henry commissioned his own monument in the Capital and on 20 February 1632/3 he paid £10 towards the cost of it, the money being received by “Mr Wryght at Charinge Cross in p[ar]te of C li .....as by his articles”.<sup>18</sup>

William Wright was a well-established sculptor who seems to have specialised in making church monuments.<sup>19</sup> He is listed as a ratepayer in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster from 1607-8 onwards and from 1613 there are occasional, more specific references to him working at or near Charing Cross where he is also known to have lived.<sup>20</sup> From a professional point of view this was a very good place to be, close to the court at Whitehall and to the many wealthy parishioners of St. Martin’s. Among the local residents was Sir Henry’s brother Sir William Slingsby who had a house in the Strand close to Wright’s workshop and may very well have pointed Henry in the sculptor’s direction.<sup>21</sup>

The contract or “articles [of agreement]” for the memorial is not known to survive but the account book entry quoted above strongly suggests that it was signed on or close to 20 February and that the £100 mentioned was the full price agreed. Further

13. Slingsby Papers, J1/2, ff.44v-45.

14. Slingsby Papers, J1/5 (unfoliated section of Ms.); J3/5, unfol.

15. Slingsby Papers, J3/5, unfol.

16. Slingsby Papers, J1/5, f.95v.

17. Slingsby Papers, J3/5, unfol.

18. Slingsby Papers, J3/5, unfol.

19. For an account of his life and work, see A. C. F. White, *Church Monuments in Britain c.1560-1660*, Ph.D.thesis, University of London (1991), pp.387-399.

20. White, *op.cit.*, p.387.

21. Cf. Atkinson, *op.cit.* (at n.2, above), pp.371, 373. Sir William’s letter of 1634 (cited below at n.46), was written from the Strand house.

22. Viz. £20 in August, £2 10s in October, £17 10s (twice) in November and £17 10s in December (Slingsby Papers, J3/5, unfol.). It is, however, possible that the two entries for November relate to the same payment.



payments to Wright amounting to £75 are recorded up to the end of the year,<sup>22</sup> leaving a deficit of £15 which was either not paid or omitted from the accounts. Wright's fee included the cost of painting and gilding the monument, but not of transporting it from London to Knaresborough or making the iron framework which holds the components in place ; whether the money covered materials or installation is unclear.

Once the work was put in hand it proceeded swiftly. In July two shillings were paid "to the tombe makers man that tooke the picture" with a gratuity of five shillings which was distributed among those who helped him.<sup>23</sup> The "picture" in question was presumably a portrait of Sir Henry which was removed to London for Wright's use in obtaining a likeness for the effigy - the manpower required to shift it suggests a large painting.<sup>24</sup> By August the work of carving the various parts of the monument must have been virtually complete since in that month ten pence were paid "ffor weighinge & helpe to weighe the Tombe"<sup>25</sup> probably in order to calculate the transport requirements. Before the month was out the memorial had reached York having travelled first by sea to Hull in a ship belonging to a Mr. Persons, and then down river.<sup>26</sup> By October Wright had visited Knaresborough in the company of an employee of Sir Henry's named Francis Oddie.<sup>27</sup> An assistant of the sculptor called Philippes - previously unknown to historians - arranged a subcontract for gilding and painting the sculpture with one Edward Horseley. Horseley was evidently a local man, very likely the "painter of Knaresborough" whom Sir Henry had employed to do maintenance work five years previously. He also did decorative work at Sir Henry's house, the Red House at Moor Monkton<sup>28</sup> and he was to return to the church in 1634, being paid in August of that year for work in the chancel which comprised painting of an unspecified character and "wryghtinge" inscriptions.<sup>29</sup>

The iron "crampes" or ties which were used to join the parts of the monument together and fix it to the wall were, likewise, made locally, this time by a Knaresborough man named Edward Salmon or Salmond. He also fashioned a protective grille around the structure which has disappeared.<sup>30</sup> Oddie supplied him with three iron bars for the work which were obtained in York and subsequently rejected as being unfit for use.<sup>31</sup>

In December 1633 Sir Henry paid eighteen pence "ffor ayle & Cakes to those that helpte to gett [his] tombe into the church & for taking downe the church wall &

23. Slingsby Papers, *loc.cit.*

24. Such a painting, representing either Sir Henry the Elder or Sir Henry the Younger, is mentioned in the inventories of Temple Newsam House Leeds dating from 1688-1750 (D. P. Connell, *The Collection of Paintings made by the Ingram Family at Temple Newsam from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds (1992), vol.2, pp.228-9). This may or may not be the same as a full-length portrait of the elder Sir Henry in the possession of Captain and Mrs. C. G. E. Barclay at Brent Pelham Hall, Hertfordshire (repr. Ridsdill Smith, *op.cit.*, at n.3, above, plate facing p.29).

25. Slingsby Papers, *loc.cit.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.* Oddie had paid Mr. Persons in the previous month (Slingsby Papers, *loc.cit.*).

28. Slingsby Papers, *loc.cit.* See entries under the dates July 1631 and August 1633. The latter gives Horseley's christian name.

29. Slingsby Papers, *loc.cit.*

30. *Ibid.* Payments dated October 1633 and February 1633/4.

31. *Ibid.* Payment dated 28 October 1633.





Plate 4. Reconstructed monument in the Slingsby Chapel, probably intended to commemorate Francis, Lady Slingsby (d.1611).

makinge it upp againe".<sup>32</sup> The last that we hear of the whole project from contemporary sources comes from a note of a payment made in June 1634 to a tenant of Slingsby's named Thomas Hill "for his worke about [the] Tombe for gettunge stone & iii weeke diett for the stone cutters [i.e. Wright's] man besides bricke & other chardges".<sup>33</sup> The brick and stone may have been used to make a burial vault under the chapel.<sup>34</sup>

The monument hangs on the chapel's north wall and comprises a full-length effigy of Sir Henry standing in a pedimented aedicule with an inscription below and a small figure of an angel above (pl. 5). Two aspects of the iconography immediately call for comment. The first is that there is no representation of Sir Henry's wife Francis Vavasour, nor, indeed, is there any mention of her on the inscription.<sup>35</sup> By the time the memorial was erected Sir Henry had long been a widower: Francis had been buried in the chapel on 24 July 1611.<sup>36</sup> She seems to have been separately

32. *Ibid.* The payment occurs in an earlier set of accounts in the same volume, kept by a steward named Christopher Wayde. Atkinson knew of the payment and quotes it (as n.2.above, pp.372-3) but he seems, strangely, to have been unaware of the other documentary material relating to the monument.

33. Slingsby Papers, *loc.cit.* For Thomas Hill's tenancy, see a loose sheet of accounts dating from 1634 at the end of the volume.

34. The chapel is raised above the main floor level of the church and there is almost certainly a vault beneath, though there is no access to it now. Brick can be glimpsed under the south-west corner of the plinth which supports Francis Slingsby's monument.

35. Much of the text is now illegible but it is recorded in full in M. Calvert, *op.cit.* (n.4,above), p.59.

36. See the first Parish Register which is still kept at the church.



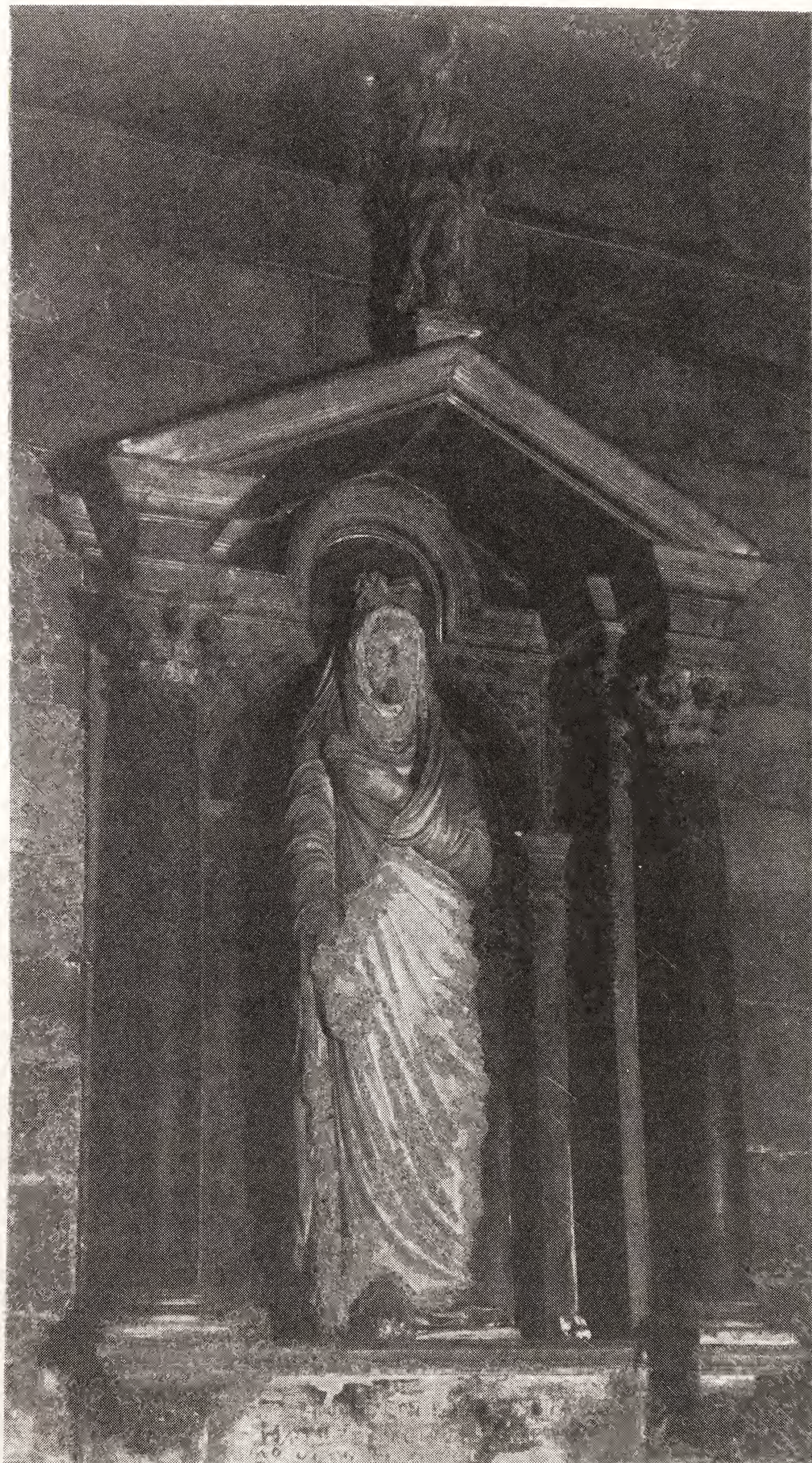


Plate 5. Monument to Sir Henry Slingsby, 1633-4, Knaresborough.  
Copyright, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.



commemorated, and this was probably thought to make any further reference to her superfluous. Carved panels found at the foot of the east wall of the chapel bear what appear to be the arms of Beckwith of Selby, the family of her maternal grandfather.<sup>37</sup> They probably formed part of a tomb chest and have been reassembled as such on the north wall (pl. 4). The chest is likely to have been one of the “tombes” referred to in the 1631 payment for “dressinge” quoted above, but it is not clear why the panels were subsequently dismantled.

The second aspect of Sir Henry’s monument which demands an explanation is his costume, a simple shroud which is knotted at the top of the head and worn so as to reveal the face, hands and feet. The meaning of all this becomes clear when one realises that the angel standing over the effigy originally blew a trumpet and that above it there was an inscription which must have been painted onto the surface of the wall: *Venite ad Judiciu[m]*.<sup>38</sup> The words refer to the General Resurrection of the Dead at the Last Judgement and Sir Henry is shown in his risen, immortal state. The fashion for memorials with standing, shrouded effigies had been very recently introduced by the poet and divine John Donne who is commemorated in St. Paul’s Cathedral, London, of which he was Dean (pl.6). The work was executed by Nicholas Stone the Elder, who by this time was the leading man in his profession. He was also one of the more expensive sculptors, which was presumably why Sir Henry did not employ him, although it would have been quite natural for him to have done so, since he lived in Sir William Slingsby’s parish of St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster and had, in fact, rented two pieces of land from Sir William in Long Acre.<sup>39</sup> Stone had charged Donne’s executors £120,<sup>40</sup> so Wright’s price of £100 represented an appreciable saving. We know from an account book of Stone’s which is preserved in Sir John Soane’s Museum that Donne’s monument was still unfinished in May 1632,<sup>41</sup> so in basing his own own memorial on it Sir Henry was very up to date; he seems, in fact, to have been the first patron to follow what was to become a major fashion in British tomb sculpture.<sup>42</sup>

The differences between the two memorials are as interesting as the similarities. According to Izaak Walton’s famous story, Donne’s memorial was of his own devising and he posed in his shroud for a portrait which served as a model for the effigy.<sup>43</sup> The act of resurrection which at Knaresborough is shown complete, at St. Paul’s is still in progress: Donne is seen rising from an urn which had notionally contained his ashes, his knees bent and the drapery of his shroud clinging to his body. Artistically it is a very ambitious scheme and in spite of the brilliance of Stone’s carving it is not successfully realised since the urn is small and the folds of the costume protrude beyond the rim, making it hard to imagine how the clothed body could ever have emerged from the vessel. The latter can easily be misread as an awkward and incongruous pedestal, particularly as there is no angel to announce the Resurrection

37. Rev. D. Parsons (ed.), *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, of Scriven, Bart* (1836), p.408.

38. M. Calvert, *op.cit.* (n.4, above), p.59. Calvert spells the first word of the text *Vinite*; the correct Latin spelling is given by Grainge (*op.cit.*, n.4, above, p.66).

39. W. L. Spiers (ed.), *The Note-book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone, The Walpole Society*, vol.7 (1918-19), p.87.

40. Spiers, *op.cit.*, pp.63, 85.

41. Spiers, *op.cit.*, p.90.

42. For the development of this fashion, see A. C. F. White, *op.cit.* (n.19, above), pp.425-30.

43. I. Walton, *The Lives of Doctor John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton Knight....* Chiswick Press ed. (1904), pp.43-4.





Plate 6. Monument to Dr. John Donne, 1631-2, St. Paul's Cathedral, London.



Plate 7. Monument to Sir William Slingsby, 1634, Knaresborough.

and make the meaning of the sculpture clear. Where Stone produced a bold innovation, Wright took no risks. Sir Henry's is, in fact, the first of several shrouded effigies by him which have been identified<sup>44</sup> and we know that he acquired something of a reputation for them. In 1651 the Buckinghamshire squire Sir Ralph Verney

44. The others commemorate Anne, Lady Deane at Great Maplestead, Essex (1634), Sir John Denham at Egham, Surrey (c.1634) and probably Alice, Duchess Dudley and Alice her daughter at Stoneleigh, Warwickshire (before 1648), see A. C. F. White, *op.cit.* (n.19.above), pp.391-3.



noted that other sculptors had made them more cheaply "but perhappys not soe well cut".<sup>45</sup>

Sir Henry's monument was soon to be joined by one commemorating Sir William Slingsby. In July 1634 William wrote to his brother from London informing him that he had "sent by one James Mould a master of a shipp of Hull, [his] tombe packt upp in two great sugar-Chests". The next stage of the Journey, to York, had also been arranged with Mould and William asked for Henry's help in getting the cargo removed from there - by water, presumably - to Boroughbridge, and thence by "wayne" to Knaresborough, there "to be layd in the Chappell where my ffathers Tombe lyeth, till my comyng downe".<sup>46</sup> On his next visit William clearly intended to make arrangements for the memorial to be erected and it stands modestly tucked away in the chapel's south-east corner (pl.7). In form it is basically the same as Sir Henry's monument, a standing effigy in a niche with an inscription below. This similarity and the family connexion certainly suggest some collusion between the brothers in the matter of design, yet they plainly resolved to differ in everything except general appearance and approximate size, for Sir William's memorial is entirely devoid of architectural pretension and religious subject matter. The effigy is most unusual for one carved in London at this time in being made not of alabaster, like that of Sir Henry, nor of marble, but of freestone. It is, in fact, of limestone which may have been procured, for reasons of family pride or filial piety, at one of the quarries which furnished material for Francis Slingsby's memorial.

The pose of Sir Henry's figure is also very remarkable. He is shown standing cross-legged, holding in his right hand an armorial shield which is balanced on a rock while his cheek rests on his left hand and his left elbow is supported by the guard of his sword. This meditative attitude scarcely seems to become a man of action with a busy career as a sailor, courtier and administrator<sup>47</sup> and is, in fact, strongly reminiscent of the seated figure of the Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon at St. Albans (pl.8) though it is unclear if the latter exerted any influence upon it.<sup>48</sup> Sir Henry's cross-legged stance had previously been used in the famous miniature portrait of *A Young Man among Roses*, attributed to Nicholas Hilliard, in the Victoria and Albert Museum;<sup>49</sup> it was also common in classical statues such as the figure of *Eros* which had been for some years in the collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.<sup>50</sup> There was, however, no precedent for it in English tomb sculpture and its use here remains something of a mystery.

Both Sir William and Sir Henry's monuments have been attributed to Epiphanius

45. *Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol.16.part 2 (1955-6),pp.73-4. Verney was probably referring to the Dudley memorial, mentioned in the previous note.

46. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, Cavendish - Talbot Ms. X.d 428 (187). Extracts from the letter are quoted, somewhat inaccurately, by Ridsdill Smith who also reproduces the document (*op.cit.*, at n.3.above,p.36; pl.facing p.45). I am grateful to Mrs Susan Pitts for supplying me with an enlarged photocopy of the manuscript.

47. For his career, see W. Grainge, *Memoir of the Life of Sir William Slingsby, Kt.*, 1862.

48. Bacon's monument was erected after his death by Thomas Meautys, his secretary and friend. I am grateful to Mr. Geoffrey Fisher for drawing my attention to its relevance here.

49. Accession no. P 163-1910.

50. The figure appears in a portrait of Arundel by Daniel Mytens in the collection of the Duke of Norfolk (repr. *The Age of Charles I*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London,1972, no.1). The painting is mentioned in a letter written by the artist in 1618.





Plate 8. Monument to Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans (d.1626), St Michael, St.Albans, Hertfordshire. Detail.





Plate 9. Monument to Sir Richard Scott, 1640, Ecclesfield, South Yorkshire. Detail.

Evesham,<sup>51</sup> a sculptor with a strong artistic personality and a particular talent for carving in relief. In the case of Sir Henry's memorial we now know that this theory is wrong and in that of Sir William there is no particular reason why it should be right, especially as Evesham may well have ceased to be active by the time the work was commissioned.<sup>52</sup> Unhappily, no documentation appears to have survived to prove who was chosen for the task but the circumstantial evidence points strongly to William Wright and the representation of Sir William's face bears a striking resemblance to that of Sir Richard Scott on Wright's documented monument at Ecclesfield, South Yorkshire<sup>53</sup> (pls.9,10).

A further attribution suggested by Sir Henry's memorial is that of Elizabeth, Lady Tyrell (d.1631/2) at Chilton, Buckinghamshire (pl.11). The evidence here is purely visual: the architectural surrounds of the two memorials closely resemble each other, notably in the eccentric detail of the cornices which break upwards in the centre to form a semicircle, creating a kind of halo for Sir Henry and a frame for the Tyrell arms. Mrs Tyrell's effigy, moreover, is markedly similar to that of Lady

51. By K. A. Esdaile (*YAJ*, vol 36 (1947), pp 86-7).

52. A. C. F. White, *op.cit* (at n 19,above), pp.158-9.

53. For Wright's authorship of this monument see J. Hunter, *Hallamshire*, ed A. Gatty (1869), p 438.





Plate 10. Sir William Slingsby, Knaresborough. Detail.





Plate 11. Monument to Elizabeth Tyrell (d.1631), Chilton, Buckinghamshire. Detail.





Plate 12. Monument to Sir James Whitelock and Elizabeth his wife, 1632-3, Fawley, Buckinghamshire.

Copyright, The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

Whitelock at Fawley in the same county which forms part of a extensively documented monument by Wright dating from 1632-3<sup>54</sup> (pl.12). The relationship between the two heads and the treatment of the drapery are particularly remarkable.

Sir Henry Slingsby did not live to see his monument complete for long : he died on 17 December 1634<sup>55</sup> was buried in the parish church on the following day.<sup>56</sup> Sir William survived him by four years, being interred at St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster, on 13 June 1638.<sup>57</sup> After this, unfortunately, the family tradition of memorials with figure sculpture was allowed to lapse until the nineteenth century. Wright lived on until 1654.<sup>58</sup> He remained active until the end of his life and gained distinguished patronage during the Commonwealth when he was given the task of making the monument to Oliver Cromwell's son in law, Henry Ireton, in Westminster Abbey (c.1651-1654).<sup>59</sup> There was some irony in that, perhaps, for Sir Henry Slingsby's son, Sir Henry the Younger, became famous as an ardent royalist. He, like his ancestors, was buried at Knaresborough, but there is nothing in the family chapel to mark the fact except a black marble gravestone with an inscription.

54. Lorna M. Head, "The Whitelock Monument in Fawley Church", vol. 26 (1984), pp 117-23.

55. Inscription on his monument (see n.35, above)

56. Parish Register. Parsons states incorrectly that he was buried on the 28th (Parsons, *op cit.*, at n 37, above, p.409).

57. W. A. Atkinson, *op.cit.* (at n.2,above), p 371.

58. He was buried at St. Martin in the Fields on 5 April (Westminster City Archives, St. Martin in the Fields register book no.4, unpag.)

59. Public Record Office, SP 18/67, no 10; SP 25/105, no 30; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1654* (1880), pp 5,27,445. The monument was destroyed at the Restoration.



## DEWSBURY INCLOSURE 1796 - 1806

by John F. Broadbent

### *Background*

At the end of the eighteenth century Dewsbury was still a small place, even though it was the principal town of the area, and had a market and a church. Most people lived either in Daw Green or in the area around the Market Place, with only scattered housing at Spinkwell, Batley Carr, and around Dewsbury Moor.

Within the Township there were two manors. Dewsbury Moor fell within the Manor of Wakefield, whose Lord was George William Frederick Osborne, 6th Duke of Leeds (from 1799). The Town itself, from the river up to Batley Carr, comprised the Manor, Rectory, or Rectory-Manor of Dewsbury, of which John Carr, the architect, was Lord (from 1799, by purchase).

The population was increasing rapidly. In 1793 it was almost 1050, but by 1801 it had grown to over 4500. Poverty was widespread, and large amounts were expended by the Overseers of the Poor by way of relief.

Travel was on foot or on horseback, and the Stage Coach was the form of public transport. Carriage of goods was by the Team - a wagon, sometimes covered, drawn by four or five horses. Over longer distances carriage might be by canal or even by sea.

There was a postal service in operation. Letters between Wakefield and Dewsbury were delivered next day, in summertime, at least.

There was no local newspaper. The two which were used for all notices and advertisements were the *Leeds Mercury* and *Leeds Intelligencer*. In addition to these two Leeds papers, a Wakefield newspaper called *The Star* was set up in 1803. Its printing services were used to advertise a Sale Day in 1805.

Methodism had come to Dewsbury, and by the end of the century the first Preaching House had been replaced by two larger chapels.

There were three Charity Schools: 1) Wheelwright's Charity School, for both boys and girls, and which stood where the Dewsbury Library now stands. 2) Daw Green Charity School, and 3) Dewsbury Moor Charity School, which was on the western slope of the moor.

The way of life of the township was still largely rural, but was beginning to change on account of the growth of the woollen trade. While many of the farmers were also involved in that trade, its main labour force was provided by incomers, including many Irish. This influx caused a housing problem, and occasioned the conversion of outbuildings into cottages, and also the erection of a variety of dwellings upon the Wastes. These new buildings were part of the reason for seeking enclosure of the Commons, in a bid to control erection of new dwellings.

The progress of parliamentary enclosures in the Calder Valley and its offshoots followed no pattern. The first in the valley was at Clifton upon Calder (in Brighouse



parish) in 1778. Then followed Huddersfield 1786-89; Wakefield 1793-1805; Cleckheaton 1795-97; Mirfield 1796-1806.; DEWSBURY 1803-1806; Elland 1803-1808; Batley 1803-1809; Ossett 1807-13; Thornhill was later, 1815-1823; and Briestfield dragged on from 1816-1849.

The acreages involved in these enclosures varied from 2634 at Wakefield to 210 at Cleckheaton. Dewsbury's 289 acres was one of the smaller areas.

### *Preliminary Discussions and Proposals*

The first attempt to bring about enclosure of the Commons was made in August 1796. Mr Francis Sykes, the solicitor, met with several of the freeholders who asked him to approach the Lords of the two Manors to obtain their proposals for enclosure. There is no record of anything having been done following that meeting. Two years later, in August 1798, the old (5th) Duke of Leeds did meet some of the Dewsbury freeholders. But nothing came of that meeting either. Then in 1799, when there were new Lords of both Manors, a meeting was arranged for 26th August:

....for the purposes of taking into consideration and finally settling the terms and Proposals of the respective Lords of the said Manors and the freeholders thereof, at which Meeting all Persons who have any Objections to make, or Instructions to give, concerning the said Intended Inclosure, are also particularly desired to attend.

The Duke of Leeds sent his proposals through his agent. Mr Holden:

The Duke to have all the Cottages : Incroachments on his waste up to the present time. To have a 16th as Lord of the Manor. To have an allotment of the yearly value of Twenty Pounds in lieu of all his minerals. Land to be sold for defraying the Expenses - of the Act & of putting it into execution -to which the Lord shall contribute his 16th as Lord. Mr Richard Clarke to be sole Commissioner & Mr Sykes the sole Solicitor.

So far so good. But there must have been a hitch somewhere, because nothing more happened for another three years.

In 1802, again in August, Francis Sykes tried again. He wrote upwards of twenty letters to the freeholders to arrange another meeting, and then wrote to Mr Holden to know whether the Duke would abide by his former proposals. Seemingly the answer was 'yes', and steps were taken to prepare a Notice of Application to Parliament for a Bill to enclose the wastes - and Francis Sykes attended at the Parish Church on three Sundays to see the notices put up. Similarly in November, with Mr Carr's proposals regarding the Rectory-Manor. Then there was a hitch. The Duke of Leeds changed his mind about what he wanted.

There followed a lengthy correspondence between the freeholders, via their solicitor Francis Sykes, and Mr Holden, whittling down the excessive demands of the Duke. The Duke said that his minerals had gone up in value, and now, "he expects to have them entirely reserved to him with full power of winning and working", as in the Wakefield Inclosure Act. The letter sent in reply by Mr Sykes was terse and to the point:

Yesterday we had a meeting of the freeholders of this Township, at which time The Duke of Leeds' last proposals was read, and unanimously rejected, as very unreasonable. We always thought

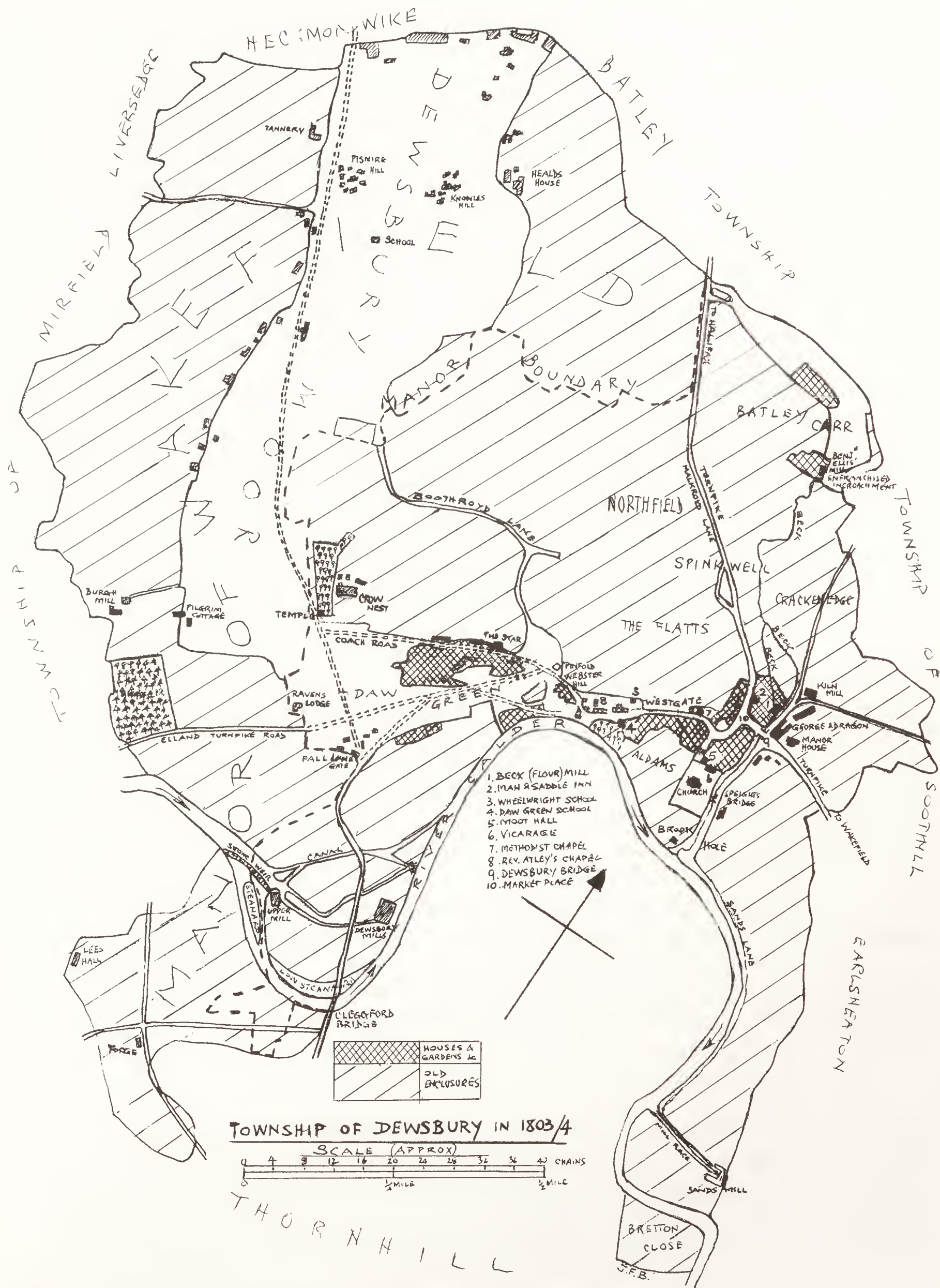


Fig. 1. Township of Dewsbury in 1803/4



Carr very unreasonable in his demands but did not expect you following his steps.

It provoked this reply from Mr Holden:

I must own I am rather surprised at your laconic answer about Dewsbury, & should be glad to know what part of the proposals is so obnoxious to the proprietors to induce them to reject the whole scheme. I think it is almost too much to say that because the Lord of the Rectory Manor has already possessed himself of a great portion of the waste & is by your terms to have a fourth if not a third of the remainder given to him for his convent, that the Duke of Leeds is to make up by the moderation of his for the excess in the other's Terms. But however it would gratify me to know what particular objections are now put forward.

Francis Sykes replied on the 11th January (1803), having met the freeholders and relayed their answer. He said that the Duke's terms were far greater than any in the neighbourhood, and he forwarded the proposals of the freeholders. After a further exchange of letters, Mr Sykes wrote to Mr Holden on the 24th January in the following terms:

The reason we allow Mr Carr to chose the situation of his allotments is that there are several small scrips of land amongst his cottages which would be of little value to the freeholders & which he consents to take.

The situation of the Duke's allotment must be left to Commissioner.

Mr Carr must contribute so far as his 16th of the whole expense as that was not properly understood at the meeting. And his Grace the same. As to the contributing to the roads the freeholders certainly will expect his Grace contributing his share, as it would be hard upon them to make the roads to his Grace's cottages & allotments at their expense.

The Mines & Minerals you may reserve upon making satisfaction for damages in case his Grace should work them, but they object to his Grace reserving his Mines as in the Wakefield Act. The freeholders expect his Grace to pay the expense of his Agent in settling and adjusting the clauses of the Bill on the Duke's part, as other Lord's in this neighbourhood do .

We have know objection to you taking the Incroachments up to 26th August 1799, but it is usual in this part to take those built within the last twenty years as part of the Lord's 16th.

We consider it a great difference between his Grace & Mr Carr- as Mr Carr it appears purchased his Rectory Manor with a view of making and extorting all he could from the poor cottagers. As we seem to meet a little nearer I have prevailed upon the freeholders to sign a Petition to Parliament which if you think proper you may get his Grace to sign & get some member to present to Parliament on the first day Parliament meets as that is the last day for receiving private petitions. And if you will fix a

meeting at Dewsbury any Monday, Thursday or Saturday the freeholders will attend and try if they can't agree & settle everything with you.

In reply, Mr Holden made another objection to the Dewsbury proposals regarding mineral rights, and tried once more to have the Wakefield system applied. But it didn't work. The Dewsbury proposals won the day and were incorporated into the Bill.

The Petition to Parliament showed:

....that there were within the Manor, Rectory Manor & Township of Dewsbury in the County of York several open Commons, Moors and Waste Grounds called Daw Green, Dewsbury Moor, Steanard & Batley Carr and parcels of waste not distinguished by particular names containing in the whole Two Hundred and eighty nine Acres or thereabouts which in their present state are incapable of any considerable improvement...

George White, one of the Solicitors of the House of Commons, wrote on the 9th February 1803 saying that the Petition would be presented in time, and indicated that when the Bill was to be presented all interested parties must be asked to sign a copy of it. He also said that presentation of the Bill was to be delayed until the next Term.

The meeting to consider the draft of the Bill was held at the Man and Saddle on 24th February 1803. Mr Sykes had previously sent a fair copy of the Bill to be printed and inserted in the *Leeds Intelligencer*.

Mr Sykes took a copy of the Bill to Wakefield for Mr Carr to study, and sent another copy to Mr Holden on behalf of the Duke of Leeds. Mr Carr raised objections and so did Mr Holden. Two alterations were made for Mr Carr, but Mr Holden was persuaded to withdraw his, and the Bill was engrossed, and a fair copy was prepared for the solicitor of the House of Commons.

Mr Sykes then went collecting signatures to the Bill, and listed them all in his Cost Journal - 53 in Dewsbury, and 20 elsewhere. Later, when in London, he also obtained the signature of the Archbishop of York. Then he made six lists of the Freeholders for the Committees of both Houses.

The costs and expenses of getting the Bill through Parliament were phenomenal, and fees, gratuities and tips were paid out in all directions, in addition to legal charges and printing.

The Dewsbury Inclosure Act was dated 11th August 1803, and comprised 31 Clauses spread over a modest 16 pages. These Clauses are summarised at Appendix - A.

### *Inclosure Officers*

William Whitelock of Brotherton was appointed Commissioner by the Act. He was already well experienced, having dealt with many Parliamentary Enclosures in the West Riding and in Lincolnshire, beginning with Huddersfield in 1796.\* And while acting for Dewsbury he was still engaged with nine other parishes in Yorkshire, and others in Lincolnshire, some of which are referred to in the Dewsbury correspondence.

Thomas Gee of Little Houghton, was the Surveyor for Dewsbury, and also surveyor for Sandal Magna at the same time. But he also acted as a commissioner,



and from 1803 to 1805 he was Co.-Commissioner for Wakefield along with William Whitelock.

Francis Sykes of Dewsbury, Attorney at Law, was Clerk and Cashier, and John Hague of Crow Nest, Dewsbury, was appointed Banker.

\* See YAJ Part 159: 'West Riding Commissioners of Enclosure, 1729-1850', by W S Rogers .

### *Claims and Objectives*

Just before the Act was as passed. Mr W William Whitelock wrote to Francis Sykes as follows:

I enclose you a notice for my first attendance by which you will see I have thought it may necessary to Determine Boundaries of Commons and for that purpose perhaps perambulate -should you think otherwise I have that confidence in your judgement as say that I will adopt such form of Notice as you may think right. I go on Monday to Epworth in the Isle of Axholme near Thorne, but as letters do not readily find their way there you had possibly best publish the attendance in your own Name and I conceive it strictly regular al way..... Wm Whitelock, July 30. 1803

I desire you will be so good as send me the Oath ingrossed that I may take the first opportunity of calling on a magistrate.

### *The Commissioner's Oath*

I William Whitelock of Brotherton in the County of York Gentleman do swear that I will faithfully impartially and honestly according to the best of my skill and ability execute and perform the several Trust Powers and authorities vested and reposed in me as a Commissioner by virtue of "An Act for Inclosing Lands in the Manor Rectory or Rectory Manor and Township of Dewsbury in the West Riding of the County of York" according to equity and good conscience and without favour or affection prejudice or partiality to any person or persons whatsoever. So help me God, William Whitelock.

Sworn before one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace acting in and for the West Riding of the County of York. 20th August 1803  
Samuel Tooker

The Notice of the first meeting was a long rambling one, quoting all the rigmarole of the title of the Act and its purpose, of which the 'nitty-gritty' was: There is a meeting to be held at the House of Mrs. Sarah Wigglesworth, The George and Dragon, in Dewsbury on Wednesday 24th August 1803 at 11 in the morning. Bring your claims, in writing.

Minutes ('Proceedings') were kept of that first meeting, elegantly written on two sides of a sheet of thin paper. (Most of the preserved papers and documents are only drafts and 'office copies' casually written).

The second (and last) meeting was held on 22nd September, at the House of Adam Jessop, The Man & Saddle. The original notice for this meeting, which was

affixed to the Church Door, is bound in at the back of the Book of The Award.

### *Claims*

About 120 Claims are preserved on microfilm - big ones, small ones, neat ones, untidy ones, some extending to several pages in length, as in those of the Duke of Leeds, and Mr Charles Steer. A few are on little scraps of paper bearing a person's signature and the bare bones of land or cottage owned. Most people quoted the full wording of the Inclosure Act..

There were about 1100 acres of old enclosures throughout the Township, including Dewsbury Moor Bottom, by Cleggford and Dewsbury Mills, Batley Carr, Crackenedge, and east of the river from the town to Sands Mill. The principal freeholders were as follows:

FREEHOLDER & RESIDENCE	ACRES	SITUATION
Charles Steer, Upper Batley	100	Burgh Mill, Boothroyd Cleggford
Wm Greenwood, Baker St. London	63	East of the river to Sands Mill
Dr John Greenwood, Ravens Lodge	54	West & South-west of Ravens Lodge
Lodge John Hague, Crow Nest, Dewsbury	47	In and around Crow Nest
Joshua Ingham, Blake Hall, Mirfield	44	Around Upper Boothroyd
Mrs Sarah Nicholls, Clough Hse, H/fld	33	West of Northfields
John Wallis, London	33	Around Thornhill Lees Hall
Thomas Pownall, London	33	Watergate & the Flatts
John Greenwood, Dewsbury Mills	32	By Dewsbury Mills & Cleggford
Benjamin Wilson, Dewsbury	32	By Pilgrim Cottage & D'bury Moor
Abraham Greenwood, Dewsbury Moor	30	West of Dewsbury Moor, at Pismire
Mrs Betty Battye, Wakefield	25	Crackenedge & Northfields
Miss Ruth Wood, Boar Lane, Leeds	24	Dewsbury Moor Bottom
	<u>550</u>	

In addition to these thirteen freeholders there were five others who each held 20 acres. Furthermore, the First Earl of Wilton owned 12 acres in the Aldams, to the west of the Church, and the Hon. Richard Lumley Savile owned 13 acres called Bretton Close, across the river from Sands Mill, and a dozen more freeholders held upwards of 10 acres.

The Act provided for an allotment to be made to the Vicar equal in value to his Small Tithes. These derived from the endowment of the vicarage dated 20th June 1349, and varied by Terriers, of which the oldest was that of 1748. The point at issue in 1803 was their current value, and Counsel's Opinion was sought - from Mr Maude of Wakefield. His verbose Opinion was rambling and inconclusive, and Mr Sykes had to ask him to be more specific.

All of the preserved claims were probably valid. A Clause in the Notice advertising the second meeting for 22nd September 1803 warned that failure to distinguish Freehold land from Copyhold land, and 'whether such Copy-holds (if any) are held or claimed to be held by Fine certain or arbitrary, shall make the defaulting : ' claimant "totally barred and excluded from all Right and Title to the...grounds to be...inclosed".



Even so, some people claimed more than they really owned, and others claimed as owners when they were only tenants. They did not succeed in their claims. Memoranda among the papers indicate that the local knowledge of older people was used to verify suspect claims.

### *Objections*

There were 70 objections made to claims, according to Francis Sykes' Cost Journal, but not many are preserved.

Mr John Heald listed several pages of objections to claimants who maintained that they were owners of freehold property, contending that such premises were built upon the wastes. Such an objection was made in respect of all 66 of Mr Carr's cottages - that they were built upon the wastes. This objection was upheld, and all 66 were disallowed.

Not all objections were upheld, and altogether claims were made in respect of 260 messuages, 230 were objected to, but 129 remained as valid and allowable.

Copy letters are preserved giving notice to claimants that objections had been received against their claims, and calling upon them to attend a meeting at the George and Dragon on 29th November 1803, to substantiate their claims.

Such notices were sent to: Rev Matthew Poley (the vicar) about his claim in respect of his Small Tithes; to Chaster & Pearson, who had claimed for land which Mr Carr said was copyhold uncompounded for; to Isaac Smith who was said to have overestimated his acreage; to Kester Dixon who had claimed for his shops in addition to his land, but shops were not entitled to Right of Common; and to several claimants whose houses were less than 100 years old.

There was a letter from Commissioner Whitelock to Mr Sykes about Phoebe Senior's claim for six messuages. He had obviously been to have a look at them, because he drew two little sketch plans to show the conversion into cottages, and drew attention to side elevation and to an obvious alteration to the roof. However, in substantiation of her claim, she was able to produce an abstract of title of the property which had been conveyed to her father in 1749. She was allowed for two messuages, though a comment on one list casts doubt on the validity of one of them.

Abraham Hemingway was the person who had objected to the Vicar's claim. He was the miller at Beck Mill which was the town's flour mill. Beck Mill was one of the ancient mills whose tenants paid an annual rent of, £2 in lieu of Tithes 'on the Feast of St Michael', but that at midsummer 'is paid for a lamb 3d, Time Immemorial'. The Vicar, in (part of) a 'Thank you' letter to the Commissioner written in December 1803 said:

I am sorry that Abr. Hemingway was not at Mrs Wigglesworth's as I was prepared to reply to his objection. I had no idea that he would pretend that the 40 shillings per annum which he pays for his mill exonerates him from Tithes of the mill & all small Tithes.... In the oldest Terrier which I have which was given in 1748 there is a Clause...."Item, the Tithes of Lamb Pigs Geese Calves Turnips Rape Hemp Flax and other Seeds with Potatoes are due and paid throughout the parish to the Vicar"..... These Tithes have been paid by the occupants of Beck Mill.

When all the claims had been resolved Mr Whitelock issued this Notice on the 8th September 1804:

Ordered that all Right of Common in and upon the Commons

and Wastes within the Manor, Rectory or Rectory Manor and Township of Dewsbury in the West Riding of the County of York shall on the first day of October' next, Cease determine and be for ever Extinguished.

### *Enfranchised Encroachments*

There is a list of freeholders who owned land and buildings erected on the waste prior to 27th November 1802. The list gives owner's names, a date (possibly when enfranchised, because several dates are the same\*), an amount of money (value.), and a description of buildings and land written in lawyers' abbreviated longhand. The occupiers' names are also given, and measurements of land, and where situated. There are 34 such encroachments described, but not many can be identified with any certainty with property and proprietors listed in the 1803/ Survey of the Township. The following can, however, be identified with reasonable certainty:

George Heaton (Survey ND. 629. Daw Green House No. 71)	4 July 1785 £12. 5. 0.	All that Buildg erected by him & used as a Brewhouse & Washouse sitd Daw Green
James Thompson (Survey Nos. 599 & 600, & D.Gn Hse No. 85)	4 July 1785 £8. 0. 0.	All that House or those buildings at DGn occupd as 2 Dwllgs 1 by him & 1 by Luke Hemingway under him.
Richard Crowshay (Survey Nos. 706 & 707, & D. Gn Hse No. 105)	10 Jany 1792 £10. 0.	....small. cottage & stable adjoining the little Garden adjng to both of them & the habtn adj to 1st Garden sit in Water Gate which prems have been made upon the waste.
Benjamin Ellis (Survey No. 339)	4 July 1785 £8.10. 0.	All that large shop or Bldg used as such sidd at Batley Carr [This was a new mill].

By Clause XIII of the Act these encroachments were excluded from an Award.

### *Survey & Sales*

In the spring of 1803, while the Inclosure Bill was being prepared for Parliament, Mr Thomas Gee, the prospective Surveyor, carried out a preliminary survey of Dewsbury Moor and Batley Carr, and arrived at the combined acreage of 245 Acres 1 Rood and 1 Perch for the two areas. Mr Elias Holt of Hostingley, Thornhill, carried out a similar survey of the Rectory Manor, which included Batley Carr, and calculated that the Rectory Manor had 'near 60 acres'.

After the passing of the Act, while the Commissioner was engaged with the claims of the freeholders, Thomas Gee was planning the division of the Commons into parcels which could be profitably sold, and into a whole network of roads - Public Carriage Roads and Private Occupation Roads, together with a number of additional footpaths. (The Township was already criss-crossed by footpaths, but some of these were scheduled to be closed, where they would cut across intended new enclosures).



Besides measuring the Commons and Wastes, it was Mr Gee's job to value them, area by area, (he calls it 'qualitying' them), so that when it came to allotting them to freeholders he could match their values with the values of the freeholders' old enclosures. (At least, that was the theory. Whether it happened that way - as the Act directed - is another matter).

\*See 'Extracts from Regr Offs of Deeds & Leases 1805' (YAS DDI67/77) for confirmation.

After qualitying the Commons, Mr Gee spent twelve days surveying and planning Daw Green. There was no map or plan of any kind of Daw Green before Mr Gee prepared his. He drew on to his plan the roads which he had marked out, and also the parcels of land set out in Lots for sale at Auction. The resultant Map remains as an original Inclosure Map in the possession of Kingswell Watts, the solicitors in Dewsbury. (The Dewsbury Library took no copy of this map).

Mr Gee was ill early in October 1803, according to a letter which he wrote to Mr Sykes. At that time the Commissioner was getting agitated about the delay in arranging the date of the first Sale Day, and in a letter to Mr Sykes on 10th October he says:

You do not say that the Lots are now set out or Plans made and I have not heard from the Surveyor, if they are done. I propose the 28th November and there will just be time for notice. I am going into Craven, propose to be at the Bowling Green House, Potter Newton near Leeds on Thursday, thence I go to York and the East Riding, and no place so likely as the Bowling Green House for me to receive a line from you if you write in time. I wish you would contrive some way to get quit of the difficulty about Plan and Survey of the Old Inclosures - I think a meeting of proprietors best and that they (a majority concerned) should order it.

Parson and Thompson's map of 1761 had been authorised by the Inclosure Act, but the freeholders followed the advice of the Commissioner, and Jonathan Taylor of Leeds was engaged to make his survey and map of the old enclosures of the whole Township of Dewsbury. This he did during the winter of 1803/4, and he arrived at a total of 1100 acres.

In late October Mr Gee met the Commissioner to discuss the Lots for sale, then he spent a week getting particulars of messuages and cottages on Daw Green. All these dwellings, together with their outbuildings and gardens, and occasional Pig Coat & Necessary were numbered and listed in a book, beginning near the Pinfold, and ending near Fall Lane Gate.

On November 30th, two days after the first sale day, Mr Sykes' clerk and Mr Gee began a three-day exercise taking down those properties on Daw Green which had been erected after the cut-off date of 27th November 1802, which were to be reckoned as part of the commons, in accordance with Clause XIV of the Act.

### *Sales*

There were five Sale Days, the first being on Monday 28th November 1803, at The Man & Saddle. The others were in June 1804, February 1805, October 1805 and August 1806. Sale Day Record Books are preserved in respect of the first two Sale Days. These show Lot numbers, Purchasers, Acreage and Whereabouts of the Lot, Which sides to Fence, and Payment details. Conditions of Sale were written in a

book, for all Sale Days. Those for the February 1805 sale covered seven points, including: an Entrance Fee of 2 shillings, repayable to bidders. There must be two bidders to make fair sale - or Lots withdrawn. Payment in full annuls the Common Right, and the Lot shall be vested in fee simple and be enclosed. The Auctioneer to settle disputes about sales; purchasers to make fences as directed; immediate possession upon payment in full; and the Purchase Agreement to be stamped in London within 21 days.

Over the first four sale days 25 acres were sold - 19 in Daw Green, 3 in Batley Carr, 2 at Scout Hill, and 1 in Town. The last sale day, in August 1806, was for three Lots totalling only 15 perches, which were all on Dewsbury Moor. The total proceeds of all these sales amounted to £3720.

### *Roads*

#### *Existing Roads*

A Coach Road ran from Heckmondwike over Dewsbury Moor to the Temple at the south-west corner of the Crow Nest estate, and turned east over Daw Green and down into Town. At the Temple a branch road ran directly down to Fall Lane Gate. Another road came from Thornhill to Cleggford Bridge and ran over the Mill Fields to Fall Lane Gate, and north-eastwards to join the Elland Road. This latter road was the westerly route out of Dewsbury from Westgate up Webster Hill and across Daw Green to Ravens Bridge. This became a Turnpike Road in 1758, and a new road was made westwards from Ravens Bridge. A Toll Bar was erected (illegally) on the old road at Webster Hill. On complaint, Quarter Sessions in July 1768 ordered its removal, after which the Trustees refused to repair either old or new parts of the road, and the Town took over possession. The other main road through the Township was the Redhouse to Halifax Turnpike inaugurated in 1741. The Trustees of this road annually made payments to the Dewsbury Surveyors for the upkeep of the road in the Township.

#### *Roads Set Out*

These ancient highways were designated Public Carriage Roads and were stoned in the Inclosure process. Further such roads were set out, making nine such roads altogether. In addition to these a network of 32 Private Occupation Roads were formed to serve the inhabited areas, as in Daw Green, which up to that time was a collection of dwellings in a trackless waste. Other roads were formed to service outlying farms and hamlets in Batley Carr and around Dewsbury Moor.

The roads which are known to have been made are listed at Appendix - B. Four other roads appear on maps, but no construction details survive. The Book of the Award listed an extra 4 roads: Dukes Road, Field Road, Hagues Road, and Leeds Road. There is no trace whatever of the possible location of the first three of these. and with regard to the Leeds Road, while some such road has always existed, the present one was not cut until 1815/16.

#### *Specifications*

Specifications are preserved in respect of most of the stoned roads, and also for some of the smaller roads which were only 'formed', but with drains and sometimes with a causeway. - See examples at Appendix - C

Some of these specifications were flamboyant quotations of the Inclosure Act, but



which were none too clear as to what was to be done. Some of them incorporated the agreement with the contractor(s), and were signed, often by + his mark, but a few of them failed to mention any reference to the consideration money or price.

As regards construction, the 40ft and the 30ft roads were always stoned, but 20ft roads might be stoned or just formed. The 15ft roads were only formed, but with sewers and, occasionally with causeways. There does not seem to have been a standard cross-section for the roads. The 15ft and the 20ft and even some 30ft roads were specifically made 'crowned', but the larger ones were 'flat', but with a declivity away from the causeway. Drains and sewers have certainly been made, but their frequency in a road seems to have been a haphazard arrangement, which varied from road to road.

There are two tabulated lists of road construction prices in the papers. The first list shows the prices per Rood tendered in respect of seven of the nine Public Carriage Roads. The roads were let to the lowest bidder, with the exception that Josias Swithenbank was the lowest bidder for both Dewsbury Moor and Daw Green roads, but got neither of them. The second list gives prices tendered for repair in 1805 of three sections of the Heckmondwike Road, and also for the Batley Road. However, the word "repair" in that list might just have been a convenient word for the benefit of the contractor doing the work. Because it appears from the specifications of all the roads that road construction followed the Macadam principle, which was to put broken stone upon a road, which shall unite by its own angles, so as to form a solid surface. The stone was to be no more than 2oz in weight, and must pass through a 2 inch metal ring. A layer of stones up to a depth of 9 inches was laid as evenly as possible, followed some weeks later by a further layer when the first had consolidated under traffic. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the "repair" work constituted the second layer in the usual Macadam road building process.

### *Roads Made*

The roads made and paid for, so far as there are preserved records of their construction, are set out at Appendix - D, which gives the widths and lengths of the roads, the construction work done, by whom, and for what price, and the total costs of construction where these are known. There are 23 altogether, 15-40ft wide.

Some of the roads in that list have disappeared, others now have different names. Road No. 1, Elland Road, is now called the Huddersfield Road, and it is now a dual carriageway over Daw Green. All the other roads, so far as they exist at all, retain their original widths. Number 13, Pismire Hill, is called Knowles Hill, and Number 19, Canker Dyke, was soon changed to Church Lane. Number 17, Workhouse Road has gone - it was in the region of the Crematorium. Number 23, John Beaumonts Road, while still there, is only an unnamed back lane at the top of Pinfold Hill, behind the mosque.

### *Grievances and Disputes*

Many of the people of the Township of Dewsbury were still farmers, and the perennial need was water. Consequently, several of the objections, complaints and petitions were about the maintenance of access to the becks and springs, and to the river.

The people in and around Batley Carr were bothered that an allotment to the Earl of Wilton had blocked their way to a place called Carr Dike, where they watered

their cattle in summertime when their local springs dried up

Abraham Greenwood who farmed near Pismire Hill on Dewsbury Moor attempted to get the new Knowles Hill Road moved further away from his premises, saying that 'the hill is so precipitous' It was, but the Commissioner and Surveyor got around the difficulty by lowering the hill.

William Greenwood, of London, objected, through his agent Mr Thomas Rylah, to a new footpath set out from the bend in the road over Pismire Hill across his new allotment to the well by School Road, 'because it reduced the value of the land' Joshua Ingham of Blake Hall, Mirfield, objected to a private occupation road over his land in Upper Boothroyd, which went to an allotment set out for Richard Greenwood of Ravens Lodge; and also to a footpath to be made over his lands to Upper Boothroyd Road, (footpath No 36 in the List at Appendix - B, which followed the course of present-day North Park Street)

On the bottom side of Dewsbury Moor various groups of people were having difficulty, both in watering their cattle at the brook in Lower Spen, and in using ancient footpaths to take them across to Mirfield, because landowners had blocked off these ancient ways. Edward Wilby (Surveyor of the Roads) was one of these landowners, and he had gone to the extent of summoning two of the complainants, whom he said were trespassing

Nearby, a group of landowners, Miss Ruth Wood, of Leeds, Miss Phoebe Senior of Daw Green, and Thomas Beckitt, clothier, of Dewsbury Moor, all of whom had premises around the Nook, (Ruth Wood also had 24 acres of land there), these all complained of the blocking of a footpath, and wanted a road made from Lowside to the Elland Road. They took legal action to have the matter tried at Bradford Quarter Sessions on 18th July 1805.

There was a similar problem in the neighbourhood of Burgh Mill, at the southern end of the Moor, where John Bates, the tenant-miller, had blocked off another ancient footway.

The inhabitants of the west end of Daw Green complained about a new well near William Whitworth's barn, and they were also aggrieved because the old direct footpath from the Temple down to Fall Lane Gate had been closed in the creation of the New Road (Temple Road), which went via Ravens Lodge to Elland Road, and then down to Fall Lane Gate.

In Town, James Hemingway put up a gate and posts at the Town Bridge end of Long Causeway, thus depriving Mr William Greenwood, of London, of free access to his premises further down the road.

Miss Phoebe Senior, with her brother-in-law Robert Duffin, (who was a Trustee of John Wheelwright's Charity), were also involved in another dispute further down Long Causeway in the region of Brook Hole, near to the river Phoebe Senior had premises west of the beck, near the river, and Wheelwright's Charity owned land on the east side, next to Mr Greenwood.

Mr William Greenwood had a grumble that Long Causeway, from the Town Bridge to Speights Bridge (by the Church) was only to be 15ft wide, but that the Brook Hole Road (from Speights Bridge to Sands Lane by the river) was to be 20ft wide, and Phoebe Senior and the Wheelwright Trustees would benefit from the wider road, and he would not!

So, the Brook Hole matter, along with the footpath to the well by School Road, and the want of a road from Lowside to the Elland Road, and the blocked off footpaths



across to Mirfield were all listed for hearing at Bradford Quarter Sessions on 18th July 1805. William Whitworth was also going to the same Sessions on 18th July because he wanted the road to his barn kept open, and not stopped up.

Mr Francis Sykes, because of all these pending court cases, read his law books and recorded in his Costs Journal :-

It being advisable that the matters in dispute should be determined according to the mode pointed out by the General Inclosure Act Journey to Mr Walkers of Ridings to prevail on him (as a Magistrate) to attend on that occasion

Then he wrote to Mr Rylah, and to Mr Ingham, and to Phoebe Senior & Co, and to Mr Whitworth, asking them to attend a meeting on the 16th July, and to bring their evidence in support of their claims.

That being so, Mr Rylah (who seemed to act for everybody) then wrote various notices countermanding the Appeals to Bradford Quarter Sessions.

The outcome of the meeting between Mr Walker and Mr Whitelock was recorded in a Memorandum dated 18th July 1805, and settled the following matters:-

- 1 The Well at the Coach Road to be put in its original place in a trough. [This was the new well near Mr. Whitworth's barn].
- 2 The well in Mr. Greenwood's allotment near School Road to be a public well - and the footpath to continue as set out.
- 3 The footpath from Mirfield on the Northern side of Mr. Wilby's allotment to continue as set out. [He had stopped it up and summonsed users for trespassing].
- 4 The Road to be set out on the bottom of Mr. Steer's allotment as first designed by Mr. Whitelock.... [That is, no road for Phoebe Senior & Co, only a footpath].
- 5 The footway over Mr. Ingham's allotment to remain as set out by the Commissioner. The Occupation Road to be considered how far within the jurisdiction of a Magistrate, and whether the objection is not to the allotment for if the road is taken away two persons are over allotted.
- 6 Mr William Whitworth's claim to a road to his barn be disallowed - but to be a Foot Road on the north side of his barn to a public well for the Inhabitants of Daw Green.

There were also complaints from the people who lived at Watergate. They had lost their direct footpath to the main road which took them to Church or to market. The ancient highway which went down the slope from Daw Green into Watergate, and which used to continue by the river into Dewsbury, was being made into a proper road, and the customary footpath was blocked off as that waste had been allotted to Mr Carr. A group of Churchgoers protested, so did eight others who were Corpse-bearers. The extra distance by the road had been measured to be all of 260 yards. Not far to walk, but unwelcome when carrying a coffin. The people got their footpath, which was officially sited to go from a fork in the road at Watergate, (where the railway was later to cross), and go up to the main road and it was walled. The path existed until the main road became a dual-carriageway.

*Allotments Awarded*

Entitlement to an allotment of a parcel of the residue of the Commons depended, in the first place, upon possession of a Right of Common -which came with ownership of ancient messages or old enclosures.

However, not everyone wanted to receive a parcel of the commons, so provision was made for proprietors to 'transfer' their Right of Common to whoever would buy it - even in advance of them knowing what they might be getting.

Notice was given on the 3rd September 1804 by Francis Sykes that any such purchasers of (transferred) Rights of Common had to certify in writing such purchase to Mr Whitelock at the Man and Saddle Inn, on or before the 5th September, and to produce at the same time a proper authority for such allotment to be transferred. And if any two or more people wanted their allotments to be adjoining or contiguous to each other to say so in writing.

Fifty-six such transfers of allotments are preserved on the microfilm. Proprietors who lived out of Dewsbury tended to sell their allotments, and most of the proprietors of one or two messages and/or small parcels of land also transferred their anticipated allotments.

A few of the more prominent people in the Township bought these transferred allotments, such as Isaac Smith, and Thomas Rylah the solicitor. (He bought several small allotments on Daw Green, including two incredibly small ones of only 13 square yards each). Other transferees were Mark Hinchliffe, Innkeeper of The Star Inn on Daw Green, and Francis Sykes the solicitor.

Besides the notifications of transfers of allotments, there are forty-two requests for allotments to be sited in particular places. An interesting request was by a group of influential freeholders with an eye to business efficiency. Thirteen of them wrote to Commissioner Whitelock in September 1804, saying that:

....all do hereby consent to your setting out and allotting unto Thomas Chaster of Dewsbury aforesaid Malster a Coal Road or Waggon Way the breadth of twenty feet over and across Dewsbury Moor part of the waste lands by virtue of the said Act intended to be inclosed, in satisfaction of his Common Right and therein pursuant to the request made by the said Thomas Chaster to you the said Commissioner, but if such Coal Road or Waggon Way shall in your judgement be of greater value than the said Thomas Chaster's Common Right we consent to your selling such surplus to him at such price as you think fit.

Thomas Chaster got his Coal Road, but only in a 10ft width, and it ran along the west side of the Batley Road, all the way from Dewsbury Moor Road to Malin Hill, at the junction with the Heckmondwike Road, and from there on the west side of the road all the way down to Ravens Lodge.

Thomas Chaster died in 1815, and in the period from then until 1833, when the next map of the Township was drawn up, nearly all the Coal Road had either been appropriated into neighbouring enclosures, or else used to widen the roads. However, one section of the Coal Road is recognisable today. Opposite the Belle View Hotel in Staincliffe Road there are some ten foot square cottages. These were all built within the confines of the Coal Road.



*The Award*

The 58 pages of The Book of The Award list with painstaking exactness the precise locations of the parcels of land allotted to the freeholders, and describe all the new roads which had been set out within the Township, and all the footpaths. After the pages of The Award there are five pages listing the proprietors with their new allotments to produce a Rate of 6d per acre for the upkeep of the Private Roads. A comprehensive Index was compiled in 1820 by Mr Elliott Carrett, Attorney at Law in Dewsbury.

At the back of the book are the Inclosure Maps drawn up by Thomas Gee the Surveyor, and behind them is the Oath taken by Mr Whitelock before he commenced his operations, and the Notice advertising the second claims meeting. A note on the back of that Notice says it was the one which had been fixed on the Church door.

In the book, the listed allotments awarded to proprietors give not only those awarded in satisfaction of their Common Right, and those of others which had been transferred to them, but also those parcels of the commons which had been purchased at Auction Sales, or by Private Contract. Consequently, some people appear to have been awarded much more land than their agreed claims warranted. Francis Sykes was one of these, Although he had inherited the Manor House & land from his father Mr Edward Sykes senior who died in June 1804, the 14 acres shown as awarded were mainly accounted for by allotments transferred, and by land purchased at auctions.

At Appendix - E there is a list of proprietors whose total allotments, however acquired, amounted to 1 acre or more. Also included in the list, but not shown in the Book of the Award, is an allotment made, amounting in total to 5 acres, to the Overseers of the Poor.

At the conclusion of the Inclosure work by Mr Whitelock, the following Notice, issued on 28th September 1806,

....was given to the Proprietors of Messuages Lands....situate within the Township of Dewsbury....and to all other persons it may concern that Mr William Whitelock....hath at a General Special Meeting held at....the Man and Saddle Inn in Dewsbury....on Monday the twenty-second Day of this month of September pursuant to Notice for that purpose given ....executed his Award of and concerning the Lands and Grounds....directed to be divided and inclosed.

*Administration and Costs**Minutes and Memoranda*

There is no Commissioner's Minute Book of the Dewsbury Inclosure. However, 'Proceedings' were written recording that the Oath was taken on 20th August 1803, and giving an account of the First Meeting for making Claims, which was held on Wednesday 24th August 1803. Subsequently, the decisions made by Mr Whitelock were recorded on Memoranda.

The earliest is that of 18th February 1805 when he viewed the Roads, and on the next day attended the Auction Sale and noted the sales and buyers. He settled some

complaints and ordered certain payments including these -

Ordered Jonathan Taylor the sum of £27.10. 0 for a Copy of the Book of Survey and Plan of the Old Inclosures in the Township of Dewsbury.

Estimated value of Trees in Allotments Made to Mr Ingham and Mr Hague. On Mr Ingham's 5 Elms at £8. 0. 0. On Mr Hague's 7 small Elms and two Asps £3. 9. 0. and ordered the money to be paid on or before 16th May next and in case of default that the said Duke shall be at liberty to cut down and take the same away according to Provisions in the General or Consolidated Act of 1. [41 GeoIII c 109, 1801].

There was a Memorandum of 18th July which dealt mainly with Grievances, which has already been quoted. There is also a part-page Memorandum of July 1805 at the foot of a list of interim costs of Road constructions. This authorised Mr Hague, as Banker, to pay the accounts of Messrs Sykes, Gee and Mr Whitelock himself, and then said -

Determined that the Sum to be paid by the Duke of Leeds on account of the benefit arisen to the said Duke by the said Inclosure £213. 10. 6 with which Sum I charge the said Duke.

The letter to the Duke's Agent asking for the sum to be paid gave no indication of how it was arrived at, but an account exists in Mr Whitelock's writing, which shows the build-up to have been largely his travelling expenses - at York, at Woolpacks, and 'Howgates' account, plus £8. 3. 0 'of Mr Ingham for Trees'.

### *Accounts and Costs*

A full set of books was kept to process all the transactions which took place - Land Sale books, Receipt book, Cash Books, Road Construction accounts, and various Summary Accounts. The most useful book of all is Francis Sykes' Costs Journal, because its full narrative provides a complete diary of the progress of the Inclosure from beginning to end.

Annual Accounts were drawn up of Receipts and Payments, and at the end of the final year there was a Summary Account of total Receipts and Payments from 1803 to 1806 (October). Total Receipts were £3952. 5. 0 which, apart from the £13 10. 6 from the Duke of Leeds, was all for Land sales. Total Payments were £3828. 19. 11 which comprised: Roads £1588, Mr Sykes £1280, Messrs Whitelock and Gee £760, the Vicar's Fencing £150, and sundry smaller accounts, including a late item of Compensation paid to Mr Carr (see below).

The Act required an annual Audit by two Justices, but this only happened at the end of the first period, which was balanced off on the 18th July 1804. On the 23rd July Mr Sykes took the Accounts to Headlands, Robert Town, [with the Batley Inclosure Accounts as well], and had them examined by two Justices - Mr Richard Walker and Mr Thomas Lodge.

### *Compensation*

There were two items of compensation sanctioned by Mr Whitelock. At a Meeting held on 16th August 1806 he was told that -

....omissions had been made of Footways through and over two



Allotments made to Mr Carr..and that to accommodate Mrs Pownall with a Road, 6 Perches should be taken from another allotment, and because....all the Wastes had been allotted, Mr Carr agreed to take a Compensation in Money....Ordered therefore that Mr Hague....pay Mr Carr the sum of £20.11.8.

The second item of compensation was payable by Mrs Pownall to Mr Isaac Smith in respect of the unexpired portion of a 21 -year Lease from 1st January 1804 to 2nd February 1808, under Clause XXI of the Inclosure Act, and the amount payable was £7. 10. 0.

### *Sources*

The papers relating to Dewsbury Inclosure were deposited with Dewsbury Library by the solicitors Watts & Son in 1960. The papers had been sorted into bundles of documents of a similar nature, and had been numbered. The Library then put all these papers, numbering some 700 documents, on to microfilm. The matters covered by the bundles are - Books of Account -Correspondence - The Printed Act - Notices - Roads (specifications, contracts, construction accounts) - Freeholders (and enfranchised encroachments) -Claims - Objections to Claims - Requests for allotments - Transfers of allotments - Miscellaneous (sale adverts, receipts, duplicate accounts).

There were also Award Maps of the newly enclosed commons - at Batley Carr, Dewsbury Moor, Daw Green, Town & Brook Hole, and by and in the river at Cleggford. The maps all show the acreages in numbered allotments to named proprietors, and they were all photocopied by the Library. After filming and photocopying, the papers and maps were returned to Watts & Son.

The solicitors Watts & Son are now incorporated in the firm of Kingswell Watts, in Church Street, Dewsbury and they hold all the original Inclosure Maps, including survey maps and plans of Batley Carr, Dewsbury Moor, and Daw Green not photocopied by the Library, together with what remains or can be found, of the original papers. These comprise of bundles covering Books of Account, Correspondence, and the printed Inclosure Act.

The Book of The Award is preserved at West Yorkshire Archive Service at Wakefield. The Survey and Map of the Old Inclosures of the Township of Dewsbury made by Jonathan Taylor are held by WYAS at Huddersfield Library the Dewsbury Library holds its own book of the survey called the Regulation Book, containing all the details of the survey, and with Rating valuations added.

Appendices A-E, omitted for lack of space, will, it is hoped, be included in a future volume.

## A NOTE ON THE FONT FIGURE IN ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, ASTON, SOUTH YORKSHIRE (SK 4685)

by Frank Bottomley

The ancient settlement of Aston was once part of Morthen: 'a moorland district with a common assembly' - a form of social organisation probably created by the Vikings before the 'wapentake' system was fully developed. The common meeting-place was in a hill meadow on the prominent ridge that separates the villages of Morthen and Upper Whitsun (See D. Hey: *The Making of South Yorkshire* [Ashbourne 1979], pp.25f.,37-41) and the association seems to have included the townships of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Brampton, Dinnington and Ashton.

Laughton appears to have become the administrative centre and was provided with the hall of a Saxon magnate and with the motte-and-bailey castle of his successor. It also had an Anglo-Saxon church with the title of All Saints. It is possible that there was also a pre-Norman church at Aston with the same title but there are no visible remains of what was probably a wooden structure. The oldest masonry remains there are the late twelfth century arcades consisting of round arches supported on short pillars. Further development took place in the Decorated period when the church was given a new chancel and improved fenestration. There was the usual elaboration in the Perpendicular period which included the provision of a south porch and the graceful raising of a west tower. The purpose of this preamble is to emphasise the resources and continuing furnishing of this substantial church.

The addition of a porch and the embellishment of the tower are characteristic Perpendicular improvements but the replacement of the font is sufficiently unusual to raise questions. The present font at Aston has the characteristic 'battlement' decoration and tracery motifs of the period but also possesses a unique (?) feature. This consists of a carving, at the font's base, of a small seated or recumbent human figure: a little man with long hair and a full beard. (Illustrated in N. Pevsner: *Buildings of England, West Riding* [1967], p.29 of plates). The man is bare-headed and clothed in short tunic, slashed or scalloped along its lower edge, and gathered at the waist by a rope-like girdle or belt. He wears hose on his legs and short, ankle length, boots on his feet. What is the significance of this unexpected and enigmatic figure?

He holds in his right hand an instrument which is usually taken for a sword and consequently the man is identified as a soldier. To the question what is a soldier doing as a decoration of a font the answer has been suggested that he represents one of the soldiers of king Herod who was involved in the Massacre of the Innocents (see Matt.ii,16). The connection might not seem clear but these hapless infants were seen by the Church as unconscious martyrs for Christ and given a feast-day, within the Octave of Christmas, on December 28th. This became an extremely popular festival - a 'Children's Day' with associated revels and, in England, received the distinguishing name of Childermass (compare the similar popular celebrations of Christmas, Michaelmas and Martinmas). The commemoration, not surprisingly,



also had a dark side and the day on which Childermass fell was regarded as a day of ill-omen throughout the following year.

It is not difficult to see how the medieval mind, with its fondness for paradox, parallel and inversion, could have found a powerful and fruitful interplay between the white baptism in water and the red baptism in blood, between the Jewish innocents who gained life in Christ through their undeserved but vicarious death and the babes who were christened and brought to new life through the sacrament administered at the font, and so on. So should we accept this suggestion and see the little figure as a Herodian soldier?

In spite of the attractions of such an identification there are a number of difficulties which militate against it. In particular, the iconography is not at all convincing: only one 'soldier' is represented and the attitude in which he is portrayed is hardly that of one ferociously engaged in infanticide.

Furthermore, his identification as any kind of soldier rests solely on the assumption that the instrument in his right hand is a sword. He bears no resemblance to contemporary church carvings of soldiers, particularly to the representations associated with Easter Sepulchres. He wears no helmet and is equipped with no other kind of defensive armour, there is no scabbard for the supposed sword nor baldric to support it. In short, his costume is civil and not military.

On closer examination, the alleged weapon whose identification seems to have been taken for granted, in fact seems to bear little resemblance to the swords of the period. It has no hilt or quillons, it is rather short and broad and, rather than a weapon, more closely resembles the great carving knives of the fourteenth and fifteenth century (see *Wallace Collection Catalogue*, vol.II - Arms [1967 ed.], plates 146, 147). Though no certainly identified example has survived, the instrument may be the machete-like tool used by medieval carpenters for rough woodwork and probably is to be identified with one of the many types of axes such as the 'froward' or 'chip-axe' which were commonly employed by these craftsmen. (See L.F. Salzman: *Building in England* [1977 ed.], pp. 343f.)

I would like, then, to put forward the hypothesis that what is held in the figure's right hand is not a weapon at all but a tool of the type used by carpenters for cleaning up large timber or splitting thin boards, both of which processes would be involved in roofing, laying floors in a tower, providing a frame to hang bells or making centring and other supports for masonry work. I think that a further fact which should be covered in any explanation of the mysterious carving should be the age of the font of which it is part. It is inconceivable that this ancient and apparently well-supported church should have lacked a worthy font before the fourteenth century. Why, then, was a new one required in the Perpendicular period? There is plenty of evidence that whatever expansion or modification a parish church received during its history, the venerable font was retained through all the changes and chances that befell the rest of the building and its furniture. The obvious exception would be its accidental destruction in the course of such building work.

Let us suppose then that the old font of All Saints, Aston was shattered by some heavy object falling on it from a height during the raising of the tower and the associated reconstruction of the roof which took place in the Perpendicular period. Let us further postulate that this accident not only destroyed the font but also took the life of the master-carpenter who was engaged in the work and the replacement

font was so designed as to include a memorial to the unfortunate workman. Building fatalities were by no means unknown in the Middle Ages and Perpendicular fonts almost always incorporated some kind of memento. This may have taken the form of an inscription but most commonly consisted in the carving of the arms of the donor(s) around the basin.

My suggested solution to the riddle of the Aston font-figure is that it incorporated a memorial to an important person but below the social class that would have made his armigerous. Nevertheless, he had such a professional and general status (as master-craftsmen often possessed) as to make him worthy of enduring commemoration in a form associated with the disaster which brought about his death. The fact that his memorial is attached to the base of the font and not emblazoned on the sides of the basin could also be an indication of his lower position in the social hierarchy than the armigerous class.

It is true that the preferred 'explanation' rests largely on speculation and it may be argued that the other builders who died in industrial accidents have left no similar memorial. But the argument from silence is always dangerous and, in the nature of things, the combination of circumstances which I have suggested produced the Aston 'memorial' was necessarily rare and it is not surprising that there is no known English parallel. However, there is something similar in the abbey church of St. Gilles in France. There at the base of a nave pillar is carved the sprawling figure of a man (illustrated in H. Kramer: *The Living Theatre of Medieval Art* [Philadelphia 1967], plate 71). His attitude is not dissimilar to that of Aston and the carving at St. Giles has been interpreted as 'a commemoration piece to a workman killed on the job'.

Should we not, then, explain the font at Aston as a similar memorial to one of the unknown craftsmen who lost his life in the course of his creative and sometimes dangerous work?



## BOOK REVIEWS

Colum Giles & Ian Goodall, *Yorkshire Textile Mills 1770-1930* (London, HMSO for RCHME & WY Archaeology Service, 1992) pp xii + 274, price £16.95, ISBN 0113000383.

*Yorkshire Textile Mills* and its companion volumes *Cotton Mills in Greater Manchester* (M Williams & D A Farnie (Carnegie Publishing for Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit & RCHME, 1992) and *East Cheshire Textile Mills* (A Calladine & J Fricker, (RCHME, 1993) enormously expand our knowledge and understanding of the architecture and archaeology of factory based textiles in the north of England. We are deeply indebted to their authors, and their work should be a stimulus to all with any interest in the field. It is the published tip of a survey conducted by RCHM (E) its authors are investigators with the Commission and the high standard of scholarship to be expected from such a source is amply maintained. It is extensively illustrated with photographs, diagrams and plans.

This volume essentially deals with industrial West Yorkshire, where the extent of both the construction and survival of standing structures is greatest. That is not to say that the textile industry of the rest of the historic county is ignored: quite the contrary, but its lesser role in the greater picture is recognised. One exclusion is Saddleworth, very much part of the Yorkshire woollen industry, but that is dealt within the Manchester volume. It is also essentially about the woollen and worsted industries, those great staples of Yorkshire prosperity, though again the minor fibres (in Yorkshire terms) of cotton, flax and silk gain appropriate attention. Curiously, carpet works, which were included in the RCHM survey, are omitted from this work: a pity, for it means that the Crossley empire at Dean Clough, Halifax does not get full due; more understandably, clothing works which became important in Leeds are also excluded.

The people, the processes and the mechanical inventions in all these industries are given due place but, very properly in the context of this study, are made subservient to the architectural arrangement and development of the built form. Economic matters find little expression.

The date range is eminently sensible. Beginning about 1770 with the emergence of what are in any language industrial buildings allows the domestic or hand phase to be downplayed: weavers' cottages (so called, but of course they accommodated other textile processes too) are better studied in a vernacular architecture context. Ending with a whimper around 1930, the era of new building in a clearly textile style was over, though the extensive strengthening and stiffening of multi-storey mills in the 1940's and 50's (at least in the Huddersfield area) might repay study before its practitioners all pass away. Latterly, new building seems mainly to have been single-storey and one suspects that innovation will be found in the vast acres of engineering works in the West Midlands, now too sadly subject to the hammer of progress.

Nineteenth-century Yorkshire textiles can be said to be based on a woollen industry in the valleys of the Calder and its tributaries, and a worsted industry in the valleys of the Aire and its tributaries, especially the southern tributaries. This was surrounded by an early corona of flax, especially in Nidderdale, Knaresborough, Leeds and Barnsley. An invasion of cotton extended the Lancashire industry along the westerly routeways. That fibre, like silk, was also widely distributed in the wool areas for the mixed cloth trade. Add the later arrival of shoddy and mungo in the heavy woollen district and fine worsteds around Huddersfield. Observe that there seems to have been a tendency to homogeneity as time went on, in contradistinction to differentiation of spinning and weaving in East Lancashire. Add that there were always rogues in the industry. That will do as a grossly simplified overview.



This book begins with an essay on location, raw materials and processes. It is a brave author who attempts to summarise in a few pages the progress of mechanical invention in all the branches of all the textile industries to be found in Yorkshire, and it is not oversuccessful. It contains little that is new but is a necessary evil. Indeed some parts seem a little misleading - possibly due to overcompensation - for textile technology is not the authors' forte. The same points are better managed, and not in error, further into the study - so, reader, bear with it. Perhaps the processes would have been better explained textile by textile rather than, for example, looking at the preparation of all the fibres under one head. It might have been worth emphasising that essentially smooth worsted yarn is made from combed wool and hairy woollen is made from carded (or scribbled in proper Yorkshire parlance) wool, and that this fundamentally affects the appearance and handle of the woven material: the length of staple is less important. A little section on the progress of mechanisation at the tail of the introductory chapter could with advantage have been placed nearer the beginning. One suspects it is an afterthought for its lessons might have been applied to clarify the whole.

The real worth of *Yorkshire Textile Mills* is to be found in its central three chapters - on mill buildings, on the mill complex, and on power - which make up the bulk of the book and contain much original work of generally impeccable scholarship.

In the chapter on buildings we are taken through the considerable variety of types for all the fibres in a whirlwind tour of standing structures, previously undescribed and often hardly known, throughout the county. Naturally the visually dominant multi-storey mill, usually used for spinning by the mid 19th century, takes pride of place. Evidence is sought, but not found, in pursuit of Chapman's hypothesis that first generation water powered fixed-framespinning mills of particular dimensions might be awaiting discovery. (S D Chapman, *The Arkwright Mill . . .*, *IA Review*, 6 (1981-2), 5-27).

Form and architectural detail in multi-storey mills are more competently treated than technical progress: one suspects the latter was more important. The development of the main elements of structure, walls and floors, is not confidently handled though some assessments are essayed and considerable new information is presented. In analysing structures, I have often found it more instructive to ask what prevents a building falling down rather than what holds it up. With this approach it is quickly apparent that the 'fireproof structure' of cast-iron columns supporting cast-iron beams and brick jack-arches below the floors, whilst strong, is not at all stiff, and what is more is weaker in one direction than another. With a desire for larger squarer buildings together with adequate light, problems arise, Stiffness can be given by thick unpierced sidewalls (perhaps with buttressing fireproof bays at right angles to the main construction) and a heavily fenestrated, almost curtain-like, wall front and back. A plan (by Ron Fitzgerald) of an excellent example (Hanson Lane Mill, Halifax, 1868-9) is included but not explained. However problems of width in woollen mills never approached those faced in cotton Lancashire and it is unlikely the Yorkshire mills were in the van of structural progress after, say, 1875. The pattern of later developments in textile mill structure has hitherto not been at all clear though the general trend towards light skeleton structures is evident. Now we have more information and, with similar material from the Manchester and Cheshire volumes, we are provided with a framework in which to ask meaningful questions.

Despite several pages of pictures of cast-iron columns, the question of rigidity in beam-to-column connections and of how to transmit floor loads through beams (especially wooden beams) to avoid crushing failure are not addressed. Roofs, especially earlier ones, get some attention but there is much work to be done. However textile-building roofs are generally not so innovative as the structures they cover and might be more profitably studied in conjunction with those other industrial buildings. Foundations are not mentioned.

New light is cast on what might at first seem boring single-storey buildings, mostly weaving sheds. Considering how important such structures were to become in railway goods stations, markets, docks and light engineering shops we are again provided with material for future analysis. Dryhouses and dyehouses claim attention; some are very small and not obvious from the Ordnance maps. I was glad to see that the tiny dyeworks at Cartworth which I was



shown in 1972, converted to a domestic garage, has not escaped the net (it is in the survey though not in the text). Warehouses within mill sites are included but not (except by side glances) those of merchants in, for example, Bradford's Little Germany. Quite how the rag-warehouses in Station Road, Batley crept in is unclear, but they are nice.

The third chapter examines the development of the textile mill complex, and is really about the surviving architectural evidence for changes over time in organisations of the varied textile industries in Yorkshire. It is an ambitious programme and it generally succeeds in explaining both trends in the various branches, and the interrelationships and development of processes and their buildings, on a sizable number of study sites, some small, but mostly substantial. The evidence presented is interpreted through plans, cut-away diagrams and aerial perspectives as well as more conventional means. It has been suggested that the use of air photographs as a speedy route to understanding the development of mills is innovatory - but some of us have been using them for upstanding industrial sites for decades. However, so far as I know, it has never been used before on such a scale and with such effect in an industrial study. There is, I think, room for differences of interpretation in places. Hope Mill, Walsden (1855-6) is said to have been built, unusually, as a single-storey cotton-spinning mill. From the plain-walled shed with line-shaft boxes to the tall, narrow, beam-engine house with boiler access to the Rochdale Canal (any later than the 1860's and one would expect an horizontal engine), the standing structure - and there is an excellent photograph (p 87) of it - is a classic example of a cotton weaving shed of the same period. Compare the air view of Pecket Well Shed of 1858 (p111). Some specialist sites are included in this chapter, from merchants' houses and woolstaplers' warehouses in Wakefield to topmaking and bleach works; and it is refreshing to see attention paid to the shoddy trade. Many of the sites analysed still stand (at least they did last time I looked but such is the rate of demolition that one can never be sure), so readers can use this chapter to hone their interpretative skills and then go off and practise them on so-far unrecorded sites, not forgetting that structural elements are often only fully visible during demolition.

The fourth chapter deals with power and power transmission. The importance of water for both power and processing in the formative years of the Yorkshire woollen industry cannot be overemphasised. Its locational and landscape impact still dominates the scene as any traveller in the Colne valley could testify. The main questions concerning water power are addressed from an architectural and topographical viewpoint rather than from the scientific rationalities with which William Fairbairn's words introduce the chapter and which the subject requires. As in the discussion of building structures, technical aspects are less surely handled. We are told of waterwheel types, their location and the arrangements of sluices and leats, but the discussion is little informed by questions of site-potential and wheel efficiency. Problems of irregularity in water supply are highlighted and some solutions illustrated. Described is one in which reservoirs were built on Cold Edge to supply the many small mills of the Luddenden valley. It is surprising that more are not mentioned, particularly that of the Holme Reservoirs Commission 1837, which operated under statutory powers. This was perhaps the most complete example in the country, extending the dominance of water power in the Holme, Ribblesden and New Mills valleys by many decades, and lasting into the 1930's. Its incompetent technical management led to the collapse of Bilberry Reservoir in 1852, unleashed death and destruction down to Holme Valley and saw the rebuilding of mills and machinery at the expense of a public subscription. Shortage of water and incompetence in its management are not new in Yorkshire.

The discussion of steam power follows that for water, but on a larger scale as befits the overall consumption from this source. Again rather old technical history informs the discussion and its handling is uncertain. The manner in which the efficient use of steam came to be applied through hotter coals, higher pressures and greater thermodynamic efficiency receives mention but is not well brought out. These things relate to the built structures in the mills and not just to the engines themselves. In particular the transition from slow-running vertical beam engines to lighter and faster horizontal engines from the 1860's with its implications for



the development of the classic twin and cross compound mill-engine at the end of the century deserves better analysis. A marrying of the extensive site familiarity of these authors with the technical expertise of mill-engine enthusiasts and the insights of the historians of applied thermodynamics could bear fruit here. Perhaps significantly DSL Cardwell's *From Watt to Clausius* (1971) is not in the bibliography. There is a rather nice essay on power-transmission within the mill and the coming of electricity.

The final chapter, less meaty than the central three, looks at some impacts of the textile industries on landscapes. It pays passing attention to the significance of textiles for the general growth of towns in the region. Air views of Huddersfield and Dewsbury point up the potential of this topic. One wonders how far mill-owners' private ambitions affected the development of public utilities and the shape of urban development. The apparent misuse of ratepayers' funds to obtain process-water supplies from a distance under the sanitary provisions of the Public Health Acts by mill-owners in the Spen valley from the 1850s might be an interesting example to study: without that water the Heavy Woollen District would not have developed in quite the way it did.

Rather than broad themes, attention is concentrated on more localised studies of industrial communities and model villages in which less well-known examples - Glasshouses in Nidderdale, Meltham Mills and Wilshaw for instance - are brought forward, as well as Akroyden and Saltaire. Mill-owners' philanthropic and public-service building, as well as their own houses receive attention.

Oddly, not much attention is paid to the broad themes of valleys full of talls mills with windows twinkling at dusk and reflected in tranquil waters of mill lodges, or the busy lines of road, canal or railway acting as magnets for both industry and settlement. It is an accident of geography that the head of the Colne valley faces that of the Tame, and that the Calder ends in glacial gorges leading to Lancashire, and that communication through these interfluves was relatively easy. But it is no accident that the industrial fortunes of the Colne and Calder valleys continued to flourish right through the 19th century whilst those of the Holme or Worth valleys (which led almost nowhere) declined. Perhaps it is proper that such themes be left for the future, to be informed by the mass of evidence in this study.

The principal chapters are succeeded by a short selective inventory of 154 sites which were studied in depth during the Royal Commission's survey of Yorkshire mills. This is followed by a list of names and grid references of mills noticed in that survey and for which files are available in the National Monuments Record. There is a useful bibliography.

So the Yorkshire Textile Mill has been 'done'. Has it heck. It has only just been started, as the wealth of evidence in this volume amply demonstrates. It should stimulate others to use the precepts and continue work on the myriad of sites not examined in detail and extend questioning to themes only touched upon in this study. One fears however that busy town-planners, who after all have other agendas, will use it as convenient prescriptive list: if a mill is 'in' its future might receive consideration, if it is 'out' it can be helped on its way to demolition.

*Yorkshire Textile Mills* is of great value and will be with us for many years, but it is up to the rest of us to carry forward its studies and understand textile Yorkshire before the dead hand of the heritage industry sanitises it all: remember what happened to central Bradford a generation ago and that the Holme and Worth valleys have led to Summer Wine and Bronte country. Let that be a warning!

Rochdale

W. Slatcher

Christopher Stell, *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses in the North of England* London, H.M.S.O., for the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England 1994; pp.xxii; 348 illustrations ISBN 0 11 300041 3 £65.00

In my immediate postwar childhood a week's annual holiday was spent in a Glasshouses cottage in Nidderdale. It was a peaceful world, safe, secure and timeless like the British Empire. The band mills were still in production, the mill chimney at Glasshouses was a major



landmark, the mill bell marked the time away like the passenger trains and the daily goods. Nidderdale was essentially a community of agricultural and mill workers where even remote settlements had a Methodist chapel. The stillness of Nidderdale contrasted markedly with a busy and noisy city like Leeds, with its endless rows of red brick back-to-back houses and corner shops, factories and trams. Nevertheless, here again there was a large number of chapels, both on the main road and back-street Bethels, even if some had already passed into secular use. Journeying through any northern industrial town, a long established game was spot the chapel and guess by its architectural style to which of the many varieties of Nonconformist denominations it belonged.

In most parts of Yorkshire, from the Dales to the Wolds, including East Coast fishing communities, like Filey, Flamborough and Hull, to West Riding mill towns such as Keighley and Morley, chapel was an important part of both the physical and cultural landscape where every self respecting congregation would have a chapel and Sunday School anniversary and even an annual performance of 'Messiah'. It was in reality a world rapidly in decline and in little more than a generation the world of the Nonconformist chapel mainly vanished, although not to the extent of the Glasshouses mill chimney and Nidderdale railway branch which have passed into oblivion. Few tears were shed on a closure of a chapel, except perhaps by the loyal group of members who had struggled to keep open their Bethel, Ebenezer, Centenary, Hanover, Bourne or Clowes. Closures gathered momentum and even if some buildings survived initially in secular use, such as Wesley, Meadow Lane, Leeds (1815), demolition became inevitable as redevelopment took place. Taken for granted, chapels were generally ignored by the architectural historian.

Early editions of Pevsner's Buildings of England series rarely mentioned a chapel but when one was noted it was often in derisory terms. The wealth of the establishment which enabled the Church of England to build churches designed by the leading architects of the day was taken as the measure by which Nonconformity was assessed. Perhaps establishment Anglican Gothic Toryism, almost reminiscent of the battle of the styles which ensued over Scott's design for the Foreign Office of 1857, had its religious counterpart. A society whose cultural tastes associated Nonconformist worship and buildings with inferiority and vulgarity, even more so when these were Victorian buildings and especially when there was a decided preference for a pagan Classical or Italianate style, coupled then to the Nonconformist Conscience and Lib-Lab politics, emphasised inferiority. Generations of Nonconformists, with a sort of inferiority complex associated with those who aspired to become the establishment, were dismissive over the architectural quality of their buildings which were perceived as being second rate at best.

What has brought about a change in attitude which merits a national inventory? Perhaps unwittingly the destructive impact of the blitz was a factor, for it created a climate in which the need for post-war buildings resulted in a search for a distinctive Free Church style. In Hull, for example the blitz to some extent resolved the problems of redundancy brought about by Methodist Union in 1932 but a major loss was James Simpson's Kingston, Wesley, 1841. Here and elsewhere new buildings were being anticipated and in 1946 the Methodist Department of Chapel Affairs' two Secretaries, E. Benson Perkins and Albert Hearn, wrote *The Methodist Church Builds Again: a consideration of the purposes, principles, and plans for Methodist church buildings*; this included a chapter on the historical development of Methodist chapels. In similar vein the same year saw Martin Briggs' *Puritan Architecture and its future* containing a more substantial historical analysis and including photographs of Otley Congregational's 'box' of 1825 and its Anglican-Gothic style successor of 1899, where his father had been minister.

If 1946 was a watershed brought about by a post-war world and in the same spirit which produced the Beveridge Report, there was a prehistory; for example, the Rev. Dr. A.L. Drummond had written 'The English Meeting-House' for the *R.I.B.A. Journal* (1938) and 'A Century of Chapel Architecture' in the *Congregational Quarterly* (1942). Even earlier Ronald P. Jones had written *Nonconformist Church Architecture* (1914). Perhaps the real step forward came from paradoxically the High Anglican, John Betjeman, in *First and Last Loves* (1952) where a chapter on 'Nonconformist Chapels' was illustrated by John Piper. Slowly, Victorian



architecture was reassessed and appreciated but not fast enough to prevent the demolition of the Euston Arch which led to the formation of the Victorian Society in 1958. This did result in a national amenity society which along with the earlier Ancient Monuments Society, has increasingly tried to protect Nonconformist chapels from demolition. By now there was small but growing number of Free Church historians researching chapel architecture. Kenneth Lindley, a son of a Baptist manse and at the time Head of Art at Wakefield Technical College, wrote *Chapels and Meeting Houses* (1969) and this was followed by George W. Dolby's *The Architectural Expression of Methodism: the first hundred years* (1964) a pioneering but important attempt to classify early Methodist building types and to record chapels already being lost. Chapels began to be listed but many public enquiries still resulted in demolition often the case against retention being that Pevsner did not include them or, in the case of Leeds, Brunswick Wesleyan (1825) that it was claimed Dolby did not consider it worth including in his book.

What was urgently needed was both a greater appreciation and better listing of nonconformist chapels. A major step forward came with the exhibition 'Change and Decay' at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1977 for which Marcus Binney and Peter Burman wrote an accompanying book. The exhibition was not solely concerned with Nonconformist chapels but attempted to tackle the problems associated with retention once they had ceased to be used for worship. This was followed in 1980 by Ken Powell, a member of the Victorian Society's West Yorkshire Group, writing *The Fall of Zion* on behalf of SAVE and followed in 1982 by a related exhibition at Keighley Museum. Mainly using photographs, especially of West Riding examples, this emphasised not only the range and quality of Nonconformist chapels but also the threat to their future. Slowly public attitudes have been changed even if there is still less sympathy in the Free Churches.

As attitudes slowly changed, Christopher Stell, a member of this Society, with an Upper Calderdale Baptist background and employed by the R.C.H.M., privately began to identify, photograph and measure Nonconformist chapels and this has now continued for a generation. What Stell correctly realised was that there was no national survey of Nonconformist chapels and the result of his herculean efforts is now being published by the R.C.H.M. based on the pre-1974 county boundaries - for Yorkshire the Ridings are retained. The inventory was intended to be published in four volumes, the first on Central England, being published in 1986 but at this juncture the Commissioners decided to discontinue further volumes. This provoked a backlash in the true spirit of English Dissent and the Commissioners were persuaded to change their minds. South West England followed in 1991 and now that for Northern England is published with that for the South East still awaited.

The criteria used is that every surviving chapel prior to 1800 should be included along with those major examples already lost, the important ones to 1850 and a selection then to 1914; almost all these have been visited by Stell. To attempt to cover the area of England from Cheshire and Yorkshire to the Scottish border in one volume, when Yorkshire alone could have filled one, is almost an impossible task and there must have been difficult decisions on selection, especially for the post 1800 buildings. Each building has a written description and many are illustrated by magnificent photographs and the author's own delightful sketches, both of which reveal an eye for detail. Grid references are also given. It is possible to contrast the plain Friends' Meeting House at Rawdon (1697) with the fine interior of Simpson's Centenary Wesleyan - now Central Methodist - at York (1840), itself reprieved from demolition and recently the subject of a major restoration scheme, with the monumental Saltaire Congregational by Lockwood and Mawson (1859) built on the wealth of Titus Salt and alpaca. There is a detailed index, although not always helpful unless parishes are known; Pateley Bridge, for example, situated in High and Low Bishopside, is not indexed as such. A select bibliography is also provided. Perhaps more important for the conservationists, Stell attempts to identify those most worthy of preservation.

This is a magnificent and beautiful publication, even the more as it is essentially one person's life work and vision, and it may seem churlish to make critical comments, but there



are limitations. Not every eighteenth-century chapel is included, as demonstrated by the omission of Chapel Allerton Wesleyan, Leeds (1794), now the Sunday school, and a short-lived Unitarian chapel at Swanland. Of course only when an inventory has been produced which sets out the field can omissions be identified and further analysis of the complexities of some chapels take place. Stell includes a sketch and brief description of Grantley but the reviewer, having recently acquired a century-old postcard, realises that this diminutive Wesleyan chapel of 1825 has been altered more than Stell indicates. A dependency on secondary sources has at times led to errors typified by the Victorian but erroneous attribution of Blenheim Baptist, Leeds, to Cuthbert Brodrick whereas his Headingley Hill Congregational (1866) is omitted. This illustrates the point that as local research continues the architects of further chapels tend to be further identified. The length of time taken to research, visit and record all these chapels does mean in places by the time the inventory was published some of the information was dated: the 'present' Gracious Street Wesleyan, Knaresborough (1868) was replaced many years ago by a new building.

This inventory may be the last word but it will not be the final word. Further and more detailed publications were beginning to emerge, in part inspired by these inventories, by the time the first volume was published in 1986. A denominational survey was that produced by Graham and Judy Hague, *The Unitarian Heritage: an Architectural Survey* (1986) and in Yorkshire two local surveys have been David and Susan Neave, *East Riding Chapels and Meeting Houses* (1990) and David Neave *Lost Churches and Chapels of Hull* (1991); similar volumes are beginning to appear in other parts of the country. There is no doubt that behind this continuing research lies the influence of Stell and that peculiar cousinhood of Nonconformist historians, including the reviewer, who here must declare an interest in that he has discussed and visited a number of the Leeds examples with Stell. Indeed, mainly due to Stell's influence and determination there is now a national amenity group, the Chapels Society, established in 1988 for the study of non-Anglican places of worship, including synagogues, and more recently the Historic Chapels Trust has been formed, currently hoping to acquire the Addingham Friends' Meeting House of 1689.

We are fortunate to see the fruits of Christopher Stell's work now in print. It is a major contribution to nonconformist history and to the benefit of those especially in Yorkshire; undoubtedly the underlying enthusiasm will inspire further research and publications. There can be no greater accolade.

D. Colin Dews

R.B. Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England*. The Hambleton Press 1996; pp. xv 324. £37.50

The thirteen essays in this volume were written between 1965 and 1992 and appeared in thirteen different publications. Students of the medieval church will be grateful to have Professor Dobson's articles collected in one book, whether they are interested in Carlisle, Durham or York. Here will be found studies of Richard III's relations with the Church of York, where he possibly intended to be buried, on the Minster's residentiary canons, on civic chantries in the city, on the fierce independence of the monks of Durham and on the importance of their bishop to the defence of the Borders. There are also essays on the origins of Selby Abbey, founded in 1069 by a monk from Auxerre, bringing with him a finger of St Germanus, and on the fate of the monks of Coldingham Priory after the restoration of Scottish independence. Readers will learn that 'the supreme spiritual lord of the northern church was under such constant pressure from his king, his pope and his subjects that he was rarely his own master'. The introduction and index give a coherence and unity to what were disparate and occasional lectures or essays.



J.D. Hicks, *The Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, Market Weighton*, East Yorkshire Local History Society 1996; pp. 62, pls 15. £4.50.

In 1856 a building intended as a training college for Catholic schoolmasters, founded by Edward Vavasour, was converted by his brother, Charles Langdale, into a juvenile reformatory. This booklet chronicles its history under a succession of Italian or Irish religious brothers until its sudden closure in 1994. Critical reports by Home Office inspectors and by Sir Mark Sykes, details of meals, work schedules and the careers of former pupils, illustrated by photographs, give an idea of the conditions in the school and of its effectiveness. In the 19th century 'no non-Catholic would ever employ a Catholic boy, still less one from a reformatory', but training in such skills as bookbinding and tailoring helped some to find jobs, while others joined the Army or drifted back to crime. The regime after 1921 under Brother Finbar O'Moore was enlightened with trips for the pupils as far as Wembley and the diminution of corporal punishment. Different uniforms for the 'section of honour' and the 'section of disgrace' were no longer compulsory. Mr Hicks has used a varied collection of sources to give a lively impression of the institution throughout its 148 - year existence.

R. I. Hills, *The Inevitable March of Labour? Electoral Politics in York 1900-1914*. 21x14.5cm. iv + 28 pp. University of York: Borthwick Paper 89 (York 1996). Price £3 (35p postage and packing).

This booklet examines the factors which influenced radical voters in York as they decided whether to vote Liberal or Labour in parliamentary and municipal elections. The issues ranged from industrial relations to taxation and rate levels, from patriotism to inflation and unemployment. The Labour candidates were normally self educated, working-class Nonconformists, active in the trade unions and the Co-operative movement. Their opponents played upon class prejudices and the workers' presumed inability to fulfil civic duties adequately. The author stresses the importance of social stratification in York but his close scrutiny of the political scene often fails to place the electoral debates in a wider context. Only once (in footnote 170) is the overall position of the parties on York City Council given; never is the national pattern in Parliament stated. This booklet succeeds in showing the difficult struggle that Labour had in York before the First World War.

Lawrence Butler

Sarah Jennings, *Medieval Pottery in the Yorkshire Museum*. 27 x 21cm. 56 pp. numerous illustrations, 21 in colour. York, 1992. Price £5.95.

This attractive and well designed book successfully achieves three objectives. It provides a brief history of the domestic use, local manufacture and distribution of pottery in the medieval period (12 pages), a concise chronological guide to the museum's collections discussing each distinctive area in turn (22 pages) and, after describing the acquisitions policy, a concise catalogue of 229 pots, illustrating most of them (21 pages). A glossary and short bibliography complete the guide. It therefore serves a specialist audience which requires reference details from its catalogue prepared on conventional lines and, more especially, it attracts a popular readership with its well-illustrated introduction. The lively use of marginal drawings taken from manuscripts and woodcuts together with the realistic photographs of kitchen bench or festive table showing different groups of vessel in colour complements the clarity of the text.

Helen M. Jewell, *The North-South Divide: the origins of northern consciousness in England*. 21.5 x 13.5 cm. viii+252 pp. 3 maps. Manchester University Press, 1994. Price £14.99.

The devastated, deprived north contrasted with the comfortable, thriving south is a political image of the twentieth century predating the Jarrow marches of 1929, but Dr. Jewell seeks a far earlier origin for this contrast among medieval writers. She tries to discover where 'the North' starts, how early this national divide was perceived and how varied are the sources which observe this fault-line or which reinforce their existing prejudices.



In a carefully constructed case the author is able to show that the most obvious divide was administrative and ecclesiastical: the former recognising 'the lands north of the Trent' from the 1240s onwards, the latter identifying a province based on York from 735 though according with a Roman plan issued by Pope Gregory I in 597, but effective only from the twelfth century. However many other avenues are explored; political, economic and social distinctiveness are noted with a wealth of information and the occasional pithy or pectorative contemporary observations. These identify backwardness in taste and uncouthness in manners, speech and dress. However on the matter of literary and linguistic divides the evidence is less clearly stated or the boundary is much more fluid. Dialect differences even suggest that the Humber - Wharfe - Ribble line is where the North really starts.

The rise of the northern industrialists, first the coalfield-owners, followed by the mill-owners and transport entrepreneurs, tilted the balance of economic power towards the north. The cloth-capped, whippet loving miners were yet another stereotype for the sophisticated southerners to jeer at.

This is an innovative book which gives much food for thought. It is strongest on the administrative and political chapters, but there is always some fresh insight into medieval concepts of the North.

York

Lawrence Butler

Richard Hall, *English Heritage Book of York*, B.T. Batsford/English Heritage 1966; pp. 128, ills 115 (16 in colour), pbk. £15.99.

In a limited compass Richard Hall covers successfully most aspects of the history of York as learned from archaeological sources. The six chapters deal in turn with the discovery of this evidence, a brief history of the city, the changing population, the urban environment, trade and industry, and religion. There are hints on places to visit and for further reading. Topics which will probably be new to many readers, unless they have already studied the fascicles of *The Archaeology of York*, are the nature of the post-Roman deposits of 'dark earth', whether gradually built up or imported to fit the ruins for agriculture, and the evidence which skeletons from burials provide on the physical make-up of the city's population.

There is a succinct summary of the alternative explanations of the later strata in the Roman barracks and headquarters building under the Minster (p.33). 'They all belong to a brief but bountiful late Roman episode and the site was then deserted until the Viking Age' or 'late Roman activities continued into a sub-Roman phase of occupation in the fifth century' or, thirdly, there was 'an extended timescale for these events, embracing the late-Roman, sub-Roman and Anglian periods'. The illuminating chapter on environmental evidence describes 'backyards which had a rich and ripe mixture of animal dung, rotting plant matter and domestic rubbish' and wells: .... 'Urban water is unlikely to have been a drink of choice in the Viking Age'.

The numerous illustrations draw widely from the York Archaeological Trust's own excavations records and include restorations of the Castle, Norman Cathedral, Barley Hall and rites at a Roman mausoleum. There are development plans of the city at different periods, old views, colour plates of stained glass and details of the most important small finds, like the medieval wax tablets from Back Swinegate. Perhaps one of the two full page illustrations of the splendid Coppergate helmet could have been spared to allow mention of such buildings as St. Anthony's Hall and the Mansion House or a fuller discussion of St. Mary's Abbey. However, many street names are explained and demolished buildings like Bedern College and St. Helen's on the Walls receive some attention.

The only blemishes noted are Lucius for the Roman Emperor Licinius, the appearance of the Minster in its later form as background to the castle c.1300 and the faint reproduction of Fig.9. The cover, publicity and title page differ on the book's correct title. The post-medieval history of York is only briefly surveyed but this is understandable in

view of the many other sources available. No important dig is omitted and, in spite of the brevity of the book, limited as part of the valuable series produced by Batsfords in association with English Heritage, there is everything here that the enquirer has a right to expect, plus two dubious modern ghost stories. It can be heartily recommended as an up-to-date introduction to the city's 'astonishing archaeology' and to the work of the York Archaeological Trust, whose Deputy Director writes with experience and insight.

R.M. Butler

Hugh Murray, *The Great Chamber at Gilling Castle*. St Lawrence Papers VIII, Ampleforth, 1996; pp. 58, ill. 8. pbk £2.95.

In c.1585 Sir William Fairfax enlarged the medieval tower house which his family had possessed since 1492. His new great chamber on the first floor was 39 ft by 22 ft, decorated with panelling, a heraldic frieze above this, an elaborate fire-place, a plaster ceiling, and three large stained glass windows painted by Bernard Dinninckhoff. John Gilson described these in Vol. 19 of this journal, but since then the whole of these fittings were sold to Randolph Hearst and crated ready for removal to a proposed new wing at St. Donat's Castle in Wales. In 1952 the Abbot of Ampleforth outbid Sir Billy Butlin and most were restored to their original setting, though the panelling of the long gallery at Gilling went to the Bowes Museum.

Hugh Murray recounts these events and describes in detail the heraldry, which not only includes the connections and ancestry of Sir William in the windows and on the chimneypiece, but has in the frieze the arms of the principal families of Yorkshire, arranged by wapentakes in 22 trees. There are 378 different coats of arms from Acclam to Zouche and the chamber's decoration constituted a heraldic guide to most armigerous families in 16th-century Yorkshire. With his customary persistence and skill in research, Mr Murray identifies mysterious arms and explains parallels with contemporary stained glass and plasterwork. This attractive guide will be very useful to those visiting Gilling and students of Yorkshire heraldry.

Ronald Butler

Kevin Grady, *The Georgian Public Buildings of Leeds and the West Riding (Publications of the Thoresby Society)*, LX11 (1989 for 1987). xv + 192pp, including plates. Price to non-members £9.50

If asked to list the existing public buildings of the West Riding, the town halls of its principal towns immediately spring to mind, together with such buildings as the Infirmary, Corn Exchange, City Markets and Civic Hall in Leeds, St George's Hall, Bradford, the Mansion House in Doncaster and Piece Hall, Halifax. The majority of these date from the mid or late 19th century, or the 20th century, but as Kevin Grady's admirable volume makes abundantly clear, they are the successors of a diverse and numerous stock of earlier buildings.

This volume is a completely rewritten version of Dr. Grady's PhD thesis, and is a comparative study of the public buildings of the twelve principal West Riding towns from 1600-1840. It isn't, other than incidentally, an architectural study, for which Dr. Grady rightly refers the reader to Derek Linstrum's *West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture* (London, 1978), but is rather a study of the many factors which determined the development and erection of public buildings. In 1700 the total stock of public buildings in the West Riding was about ninety, and this rose impressively to 150 in 1750, 240 in 1800 and more than 500 by 1840. The growth was inexorable but not even: fluctuations in the prosperity of local trade and industry induced distinct fluctuations in the provision of public buildings, and at times the enthusiasm for their erection verged on mania. The range of buildings increased over time, at the end of the 17th century including town halls, prisons, workhouses, schools and places of worship, but during the 18th century expanding to include cloth halls, theatres, assembly rooms, music halls, medical institutions, libraries and newsrooms. Between 1800 and 1840 it extended to a wider range of schools, philosophical halls, mechanics' institutes, covered



markets, commercial buildings, bazaars, baths, botanical gardens, and many multi-purpose amenities.

After an introductory chapter on the urban setting, which provides the necessary economic background to the construction of public buildings, subsequent chapters explore the types of buildings erected, the place of public authorities and of private entrepreneurs and benefactors in their provision, the influences on building activity, and a study of building projects from conception to completion. A final chapter briefly sets a national perspective before a gazetteer provides a complete list of public buildings of the Georgian period, with some earlier buildings of significance, in Leeds, Sheffield and Knaresborough, the first two the most important towns in the West Riding in the early 19th century, the third included to demonstrate the limited range of provision in a small town. There are incomplete lists for the other nine towns, namely Barnsley, Bradford, Doncaster, Halifax, Huddersfield, Pontefract, Ripon, Rotherham and Wakefield. Dr. Grady's text reads well, is superbly referenced throughout, and is accompanied by a representative selection of illustrations, most of 19th century date. The author and the Thoresby Society are to be warmly congratulated for publishing this volume.

Ian Goodall

Susan Neave and Steve Ellis (eds), *An Historical Atlas of East Yorkshire*, University of Hull Press 1996; pp. 170, maps 69. £17.50.

This collection of maps, each with explanatory text, commences with those showing physiography, geography, geology, soils, natural history and coastal erosion. The archaeology of the region is illustrated from mesolithic to early medieval but most of the Atlas covers aspects of the history of Hull and the East Riding from the Middle Ages to the present century. These maps include land use and ownership, communications and religion, while another series show administrative divisions of the East Riding at various periods. The book will be useful both as a reference source and as a teaching aid. It is intended as a companion volume to the *Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*.

#### *Also received*

Trevor Croucher, *Boots and Books. The Work and Writings of Arthur Raistrick*. Smith Settle, Otley, 1996; pp. x+ 70, ill. 15 (10 in colour); hardback £9.95.

Richard Hall, *Viking Age York*, 18.5 x 24.5 cm + 128pp, 20 plates in colour, 115 in black and white. B.T. Batsford Ltd / English Heritage, London, 1994; Price: £14.99 (paperback)

David Johnson, *Discovery Walks in the Yorkshire Dales. The Northern Dales*. Sigma Press, 1 South Lane, Wilmslow, Cheshire, 1996; pp. vi + 210, ill. 66. pbk £6.95.

E.M. Sigsworth, *A respectable life. Leeds in the 1930's* (1995, Beverley, Highgate Press) xii + 88pp. Price £7.50.

Blaise Vyner (ed) *Moorland Monuments: Studies in honour of Raymond Hayes and Don Spratt*. CBA Research Report 101. (London: 1995) pp 255.

All communications relative to the Editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, R.M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A. 32 Green Lane, Acomb, York YO2 3DL from whom list of conventions should be obtained by intending contributors.

THE TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP OF THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR 1998 ARE:

Individual Members .....	£20.00
Family Members .....	£25.00
Institutional Members .....	£30.00
Affiliated Societies .....	£25.00
Associate Members .....	£10.00

Subscriptions, which are due on 1st January, should be paid to the Hon. Treasurer, Claremont, 23 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9NZ, or through the subscriber's banker, entitle the member to a copy of the Journal for the current year.

*Further information can be obtained for the Hon. Secretary, Claremont, 23 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9NZ*

Orders for back numbers of the Society's publications should be placed with the **Librarian at Claremont, 23 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9NZ**. Prices are as follows.

<b>YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL</b> .....	Vols.1-42: £3 per part Vols. 43-46: £5.50 per vol. Vols. 47-51: £8 per vol. Vols. 52-64: £12 per vol. Postage £2.00 UK per vol.
<b>Y.A.S. RECORD SERIES</b> .....	£18 for subscribers £22 for Y.A.S. members £30 for non-members Postage £3.90 UK per vol.
<b>Y.A.S. PARISH REGISTER SERIES</b> .....	Vols. 1-160: £20 per vol., Postage £1.75 UK per vol.
<b>ANALYTICAL INDEX OF THE CONTENTS OF VOLS. 41-62 (1963-1990) OF THE Y.A.J.</b> .....	£1.50 + 70p postage.
<b>THE RUDSTON ROMAN VILLA</b> by Dr. I.M. Stead .....	£8.50 + £2.00 postage.
<b>YORKSHIRE BOUNDARIES</b> edited by H.E.J. Le Patourel, ..... M.H. Long and M.F. Pickles	£12.95 for Y.A.S. members £14.95 for non-members Postage £1.50
<b>SEVEN BRONZE BARROWS OF N.E.YORKS</b> T.C.M. Brewster and A.E. Finney. ....	£12.10 for Y.A.S. members £15 for non Y.A.S. members Postage and packing £2.90

Members who **ORDER THROUGH THE SOCIETY** are entitled to a reduction in the price of volumes in a series to which they subscribe. Offprints of most articles in recent volumes of the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal are also still available, back to 1952. Vols. 31, 37, 131, 136, 138 - 142 and 144 of the Record Series are now offered at reduced prices.

Please apply to the Librarian.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR 1998

<b>RECORD SERIES</b> (from 1st Jan, 1997) .....	£18.00	<b>Overseas</b> £20.00
<b>PARISH REGISTER SERIES</b> .....	£15.00	<b>Overseas</b> £18.00
<b>WAKEFIELD COURT ROLLS SERIES</b> .....	£6.00	<b>Overseas</b> £8.00
<b>PREHISTORIC RESEARCH SECTION</b> .....	£4.00	
<b>ROMAN ANTIQUITIES SECTION</b> .....	£4.50	<b>Family</b> £7.50
<b>MEDIEVAL SECTION</b> .....	£4.00	
<b>LOCAL HISTORY STUDY SECTION</b> .....	£3.00	
<b>INDUSTRIAL HISTORY SECTION</b> .....	£3.00	
<b>FAMILY HISTORY AND POPULATION STUDIES SECTION</b> .....	£7.00	
Non Member Y.A.S. £11.00    Non Member Y.A.S. Family £14.00		

Members of Sections who are not members of the Society pay an additional £4.00.



## CONTENTS OF VOLUME 69

	<i>page</i>
PULE BENTS: A Possible Kill site in the Central Pennines ..... P. B. STONEHOUSE	1
A STONE AXE-HAMMER, ROBIN HOOD'S PENNY STONE AND STONE CIRCLE AT WAINSTALLS, WARLEY NEAR HALIFAX, WEST YORKSHIRE ..... RAYMOND A. VARLEY	9
THE KNAPTON GENERATING STATION AND GAS PIPELINE EXCAVATIONS ..... J. LEE with contributions from J. DORE and J.P. HUNTLEY. Illustrations by ROGER SIMPSON	21
RECENT ROMANO-BRITISH METAL DETECTOR FINDS IN THE SHEFFIELD AND ROTHERHAM MUSEUM COLLECTIONS AND RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN SOUTH YORKSHIRE ..... MARTIN J. DEARNE and JULIEN PARSONS	39
ANGLO-SAXON SUNDIALS IN RYEDALE ..... JOHN WALL	93
EXCAVATIONS IN DEANERY GARDENS AND LOW ST AGNESGATE, RIPON, NORTH YORKSHIRE ..... MARK WHYMAN with specialist contributions from AILSA MAINMAN, PATRICK OTTAWAY, NICOLA ROGERS and SANDRA GARSIDE-NEVILLE	119
YORK AS A TIDAL PORT ..... COLIN BRIDEN	165
THE PRIVY COUNCIL AND 'VAGARANT RUNAGATE' PRIESTS IN ELIZABETHAN YORK ..... PHILLIP V. THOMAS	173
THOMAS BROWNE, WILLIAM WRIGHT AND THE SLINGSBY MONUMENTS AT KNARESBOROUGH ..... ADAM WHITE	193
DEWSBURY INCLOSURE 1796 - 1806 ..... JOHN F. BROADBENT	209
A NOTE ON THE FONT FIGURE IN ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, ASTON, SOUTH YORKSHIRE (SK 4685) ..... FRANK BOTTOMLEY	227
BOOK REVIEWS .....	230